

Community involvement in woodlands: Governance and social benefits

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me and is all my own work. This work has not been submitted for another qualification.

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Abstract

This study explores the social benefits resulting from community involvement in forestry in Scotland. Social benefits have been claimed and reported but a review of literature identified a need for further exploration to qualify them in nature and extent. A novel appraisal approach was also developed as part of this study to explore the context in which benefits are delivered and identify the factors and mechanisms instrumental in the delivery process.

The research used a case study approach focussing on the Scottish Borders. It included a scoping phase involving semi-structured interviews to gain an understanding of the forestry sector and explore the wider context in which forestry operates. This phase informed the methodological strand of the study by feeding into the development of the appraisal approach and the design of the second empirical phase in which social benefits were investigated through a detailed study of four initiatives. Qualitative and quantitative information was collected through semi-structured interviews and local surveys.

The main findings relate to the nature and distribution of social benefits and an understanding of the processes by which they are delivered. For example, social capital building was found nearly exclusively amongst those with direct contact with the projects. Other benefits, such as feelings of increased belonging or connection with their area, were experienced more widely and could result from the mere knowledge of the existence of the community initiative. The governance structures and institutions involved and the nature of the local community and area were found to be important and interrelating elements in the process by which benefits are experienced. Current forestry policy supports community involvement as a rural development mechanism, and the study findings provide insight in to the circumstances under which, and manner in which, community involvement should be facilitated for maximum gain. For example, the nature of the community and levels of existing community cohesion have implications for the role of external agencies; activities and events were found to be very important in attracting people to the woods who might not otherwise visit; and the capacity for the woods to be a forum through which interests in local biodiversity, history and arts are explored and expressed was found to be valuable.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

There have been major changes in the last thirty years affecting rural development and perhaps the most significant are the restructuring of the rural economy, the emergence and embracing of the concept of sustainable development, and the change in state support for agriculture. The nature of rural development in the twenty first century is open to debate as is the role of forestry in the socio-economy. The Scottish Government sees forestry delivering a wide range of benefits, both directly through utilisation of timber and non-timber products and less directly through the environmental services it delivers and using forestry as a forum or mechanism for developing social benefits. Other agencies involved in the forestry sector often have specific remits and their interpretations of the role of forestry in the socio-economy may come from other perspectives. The findings of this study will be discussed in terms of the models of 'rural development' it encounters and the role of forestry.

The wider benefits of forestry, benefits other than the timber they produce, have been of increasing interest in recent decades. Scottish timber is expensive to grow and, at the time of writing this thesis, generally not profitable. Evidence based policy requires the other benefits derived from woodlands to be identified and explored in order to justify the public expenditure on forestry. Forestry is now recognised as being 'multi-benefit', offering environmental functions, contributions to landscape and amenity, social benefits and economic returns. Benefits from forestry are generally described under the three tenets of sustainable development: environmental, social and economic which are often depicted in three overlapping circles. Although concentrating on the social benefits, this study will discuss them in relation to economic and environmental benefits.

Governance in Britain evolved rapidly through the 1990s, with devolution from Westminster to Scotland and an increased emphasis on citizen engagement and the citizen as customer. Participation in management of resources and services is increasingly embraced and community owned and/or managed shops and play parks are becoming more common alongside the traditional community village halls.

Participation is considered a valuable tool or approach both as a means of improving service delivery and as an ends in itself in terms of the benefits that those participating derive from being involved.

Governance of forestry is also changing with a number of different arrangements that devolve aspects of management to different stakeholders. Forestry Commission Scotland offers opportunities for communities to own areas of woodland, hold licences over woods or to enter in to informal agreements over the management or use of woods. Private landowners are being encouraged to set up 'community woods' through the availability of grants. Other arrangements that promote community involvement sometimes include a third party who 'facilitates' the community involvement. With the increasing numbers of initiatives whereby communities are involved in the management of woodlands, and a parallel increase public funding supporting such initiatives, an exploration of the social benefits that this type of governance delivers is timely.

Discussion with Forestry Commission Scotland revealed that better insights into the mechanisms of engagement and the benefits of community involvement would be of interest. Although the Forestry Commission in Scotland has been formally working with communities since 1998, it has only become a significant policy area for the Forestry Commission since Forestry was devolved in April 2003 (Maxwell, pers. com. 25/02/2005). The Social Policy unit, created in 2004, is undertaking a number of reviews to inform policy regarding community involvement. Indeed, identified in the Scottish Forestry Strategy (Scottish Executive, 2006a) is the need to '*improve the evidence base on ways to secure maximum benefit from woods in and around communities*' (p 36). This study will contribute to closing these gaps.

Policy regarding Scottish Forestry is set out in the Scottish Forestry Strategy (Scottish Executive, 2006a) and is discussed in more detail in chapter 2. The Strategy envisages people engaging with and looking after Scotland's woodlands and benefiting widely from them. It also sees wooded land becoming a central part of our culture, economy and environment. Social inclusion is one of the Strategy's

principles, through helping to provide opportunities for all and building stronger communities. It has as specific objectives: to assist community participation, to enhance opportunities for health and enjoyment and to contribute to learning and skills. It also has economic objectives and aims to facilitate rural business diversification and development and increase the contribution of forestry to tourism. Environmental objectives include contributing to landscape quality, promoting the historic environment and cultural heritage and enhancing biodiversity. Delivery of the strategy is based around seven key themes, one being 'community development'.

Because economic benefits were the main focus of forestry in the past, most assessments and evaluations were based on valuing economic returns. More recently methods have been developed to assess levels of other benefit streams and convert them into a monetary value. The more traditional approach of economic appraisal has been found to be unhelpful in investigating social benefits which are very closely linked to specific social and institutional settings (Slee, 2003). This study will develop and explore the use of a framework to add depth and understanding to the analysis of social benefits.

1.2 Objectives

This study explores the area of forestry and rural development and, in particular, how community involvement in forestry initiatives can lead to social benefits.

The objectives of this study are:

1. To explore the role of forestry in rural development and the factors important in that process.
 - In what ways is forestry contributing to rural development?
 - How do different factors combine in the process by which forestry contributes to rural development?

2. To explore new methods of adding depth and insight to appraisal of forestry outcomes.
 - How can the Sustainable Livelihood Framework and other approaches assist in appraisal of forestry?
3. To explore the social benefits of community involvement.
 - To whom are the social benefits delivered?
 - What processes and mechanisms are involved in delivering social benefits?
 - What influences the effectiveness of these processes and mechanisms in delivering benefits?

1.3 The research approach

The research has two main parts:

- A stakeholder survey.
- Comparative case studies.

The research focuses on a discrete geographical area, the Scottish Borders, in order to explore links and synergies and how the forestry sector interacts with the local socio-economy. It includes a stakeholder survey to gain an understanding of the forestry sector and explore the wider context in which forestry operates. During this phase a number of semi-structured interviews were carried out with stakeholders to the forestry sector. This phase informed the research, feeding into the development of the appraisal approach, and the design of the second empirical phase, the comparative case studies, in which social benefits were investigated.

In the second phase, a detailed study of four initiatives in the Scottish Borders in which communities are involved in the management of woodlands was conducted, using further semi-structured interviews and local surveys. Distinguishing it from previous studies of this type, qualitative and quantitative information was combined

to give more robust findings. In another departure, the research targeted the wider community, as well as people involved in the initiatives, to gauge the distribution of different types of benefit. An adapted version of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach was used as a guide in designing the data collection to explore governance and institutions and how they interact, with each other and with other factors, in the process of generating benefits. The qualitative data collected and descriptive statistics were used to draw up hypotheses about the routes to outcomes and, where possible, these hypotheses were tested statistically.

1.4 *Structure of the thesis*

Chapters 2 and 3 provide the main literature review for this study leading to the research objectives and questions and pinpointing the area of investigation. Chapter 2 traces the objectives of and approaches to rural development in the UK, before looking at the forestry sector. Recent and current forestry policy and the drivers of policy are explored considering the role of forestry policy in Scotland's rural development, including community involvement in woodlands as a mechanism for rural development. Chapter 3 discusses the benefits of forestry, particularly the social benefits of community involvement, and forestry appraisal. It goes on to explore the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and the analytical perspectives that it introduces.

Chapter 4 outlines the research design. It discusses the disciplinary domain and describes the approach used and the methods for data collection and analysis.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the stakeholder survey. The stakeholder survey aims to gain an understanding of the forestry sector in the Borders and how it operates. What benefits does forestry deliver and how does it do it? The chapter presents background information on the case study area and relevant initiatives and organisations interviewed. The interview results are reported in three sections. First, the visions of the interviewees and their reasons for working or being involved in forestry are described, providing insight into the motivations of those involved in forestry. Second, information relating to governance, objectives and outputs is

discussed. The views of the interviewees regarding opportunities for and constraints to forestry in contributing more to rural development in the Borders are reported before a final synthesising section draws out several interesting cross cutting threads from the data for further deliberation.

Chapter 6 presents the results and analysis of the case studies which investigate the social benefits of community involvement. The first section discusses: sizes, compositions and settings of the four case study initiatives; the communities which they serve; the governance structures, and the objectives and activities of the woodland initiatives. The second section looks at involvement in management of the woods, reasons for visiting the woods and the extent to which the woods are used. The third section explores the social benefits in more depth, comparing the extent to which they are delivered by the different cases. The last section summarises the analysis.

Chapter 7 revisits the project's research questions, synthesising and discussing the study findings in terms of relevance to policy and on-going discussions in the literature and making some policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND FORESTRY

2.1 Introduction

This literature review traces the objectives of, and approaches to, rural development in the UK, before looking at the forestry sector. Exploration of recent and current forestry policies and the drivers of policy show how policy in Scotland perceives forestry's role in rural development, including community involvement in woodlands as a mechanism for rural development.

2.2 The origins of rural development policy

The position that forestry may have in development can be better understood by looking at development policy in general for rural areas in the UK. Why is rural development needed? What is it about rural areas which puts them at a disadvantage in industrialised economies? Economic development tends to be centred on urban areas which are usually at a natural transport node or have a concentration of a particular resource. People and wealth (capital) are attracted and economies of scale lead to the development of services in the form of schools, shops, entertainment etc, attracting further people and capital (Harvey, 1996). Although the nature of rural areas is not static and has changed considerably during the last century, rural areas are generally characterised by relatively large distances from markets, sparse populations and poor services, and these factors affect their ability to attract investment and to attain a critical economic mass (Bryden and Tracey, 1990).

What role should the government have in assisting rural areas overcome their peripheral limitations? Thomson (1995) gives the classic justifications for government to intervene as: market failure, to increase efficiency, to foster stability or sustainability and to address distribution issues. Some development policy objectives have been concerned with maximising aggregate income or social benefits

over costs while others have related to the distribution of economic welfare and the protection of vulnerable groups in society.

Rural development in the UK between the 1930s and 1980s was dominated by Government support to agriculture. Although the focus on agricultural support remained essentially unchanged during this period, approaches to rural development outwith this sector underwent a series of revisions.

The world-wide depression of the 1930s and the Second World War prompted the government to take a serious role in rural development. These two events highlighted the need for increased economic activity and a strategy for self-sufficiency (Henderson, 1987). It was decided that Government support should be mainly directed according to national economic objectives, such as food production and balance of payments.

The efficiency of the rural economy was seen in terms of primary production. Home production of agriculture and forestry commodities were major national objectives, warranting support, and agriculture became the sector dominating rural development. It was also thought that, through supporting agriculture, the incomes of agricultural workers who were some of the most disadvantaged people in rural areas, would increase (Harvey, 1996). The 1947 Agriculture Act established a system of deficiency payments by which farmers received a fixed price for commodities at a level which ensured their profitability (Winter, 1996). Farmers continued to be supported under the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) for food production when Britain joined the EC in 1973. The forestry sector has been characterised by pervasive government interventions since the establishment of the Forestry Commission in 1919 when its goal was primarily to build up a strategic timber reserve. This is discussed in more detail in section 2.4.

The emphasis on agricultural support lead to a prosperous agriculture but did not prevent social and economic decline outwith larger farms. Farm amalgamation and mechanisation resulted in a decrease in farm jobs. Between 1951 and 1991, the

agricultural workforce dropped from 920,000 to 380,000 in England and Wales. This in turn contributed to rural depopulation and a reduction in rural services such as schools, shops and transport. At the same time, the new planning regulations under the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act were restricting other non-agricultural developments in the countryside (Allanson and Whitby, 1996).

Although support for agriculture was by far the largest investment, rural development took on other guises and it was in these arenas that rural development approaches progressed. Until the 1970s development was carried out on a sectoral basis - development policies were implemented by the relevant government departments and the Rural Development Commission was responsible for setting up factories in areas of high unemployment (Buller and Wright, 1990). In the 1970s the limitations of a sectoral approach, where individual sectors were addressed in isolation, ignoring their relationships with other sectors, were recognised and integrated rural development became the new strategy. Rural development agencies such as the Highland and Islands Development Board and the Development Board for Wales were established to oversee development in their areas, taking an integrated approach to a range of social and economic development issues (Cloke, 1988). In England, Rural Development Areas were designated by the Rural Development Commission and local authorities were required to draw up Rural Development Plans for these areas (Buller and Wright, 1990; Bower and Lewis, 1991). Wightman (1994) notes that the setting up of post war institutions, such as the Regional Development Boards and North of Scotland Hydroelectric Board, led to a period of rapid industrial expansion. Spectacular large projects such as Dounreay Fast Breeder Reactor, Corpach pulp-mill and Nigg oil-fabrication yard, became major employers but have not proved sustainable. The EU structural funds (introduced in 1975) supported integrated projects in rural areas with low levels of economic development and also fall into this category.

By the 1980s scepticism towards many of the development agencies was growing and there was a demand for increased community involvement (Cloke, 1988). Local people felt that those most in need were not necessarily benefiting from development

projects and that the design of many of the projects was inappropriate. Approaches were borrowed from developing countries in which emphasis was put on enabling people to understand the structures through which they were disadvantaged. The aim was to facilitate economically sustainable and autonomous development. Language such as 'self-help', 'empowerment' and 'participation' emerged in rural development policy. There was emphasis on bottom up development whereby local initiatives were, theoretically, welcomed and partnerships were increasingly seen as a mechanism to deliver rural development (see Moseley, 2003) for a thorough review of partnerships). The EU LEADER programme, introduced in 1991, was launched in response to this new emphasis.

Since the early 1980s, increasing environmental awareness and progressive acknowledgement of the complex interaction between the economy, environment and society has generated the notion of sustainable development (see IUCN, 1980; Pearce *et al.*, 1989), whereby economic growth should be pursued concomitantly with the improvement of human welfare and the conservation of natural resources. The intrinsic diversity and complexity of ecological and social systems should be preserved in order to increase or, at least not to undermine, their stability or erode their resilience.

Despite the changes noted above, throughout the latter part of the twentieth century by far the most significant impact in rural areas in Europe remained the farm production subsidies provided under the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Land use and the fabric of the countryside was to a large extent dictated by the CAP which had remained 'top down' and isolated from other sectors. The principal goal of European agricultural policy was productivity, based on the Treaty of Rome, 1957.

During the 1980s the political climate began to change. Food commodities were accumulating at an alarming rate in the EC with high associated costs for storage and export subsidies. By the early 1990s surpluses were absorbing 20% and 28% of the CAP budget for storage and export subsidies respectively (Pretty, 1998). Since 1992,

there has been a gradual shift in support for agriculture, with less emphasis on production and more support for conservation and diversification.

2.3 The New Rural Development: Sustainable and Post-industrial

The Decline of Agriculture and the New Rural Economy

Since the 1980s the countryside has undergone considerable change, challenging the concept of rural development. The widespread adoption of neo-liberal approaches to macro-economic management, such as deregulation and privatisation, during the 1980s encouraged a greater mobility of capital and the adoption of more diverse production methods (Lowe *et al.*, 1993). Rural areas are no longer viewed primarily as the location of food production. New economic opportunities have opened up and rural areas are increasingly seen as a collection of resources also available for amenity and leisure pursuits, provision of environmental features, forestry and industrial crops. There has been increased competition for rural resources from a variety of economic actors (Thomson, 1995; Lowe, 1996).

Drawing on Marsden *et al.* (1992); Tarling *et al.* (1993); Saraceno (1994); Thomson (1995); Allanson and Whitby (1996) and Lowe (1996), a number of trends which have been affecting the countryside since the 1980s can be identified:

- The decreasing importance of agriculture in both contributing to national GNP and providing employment;
- An increasing presumption that the countryside is not owned by farmers but is a national resource that is managed by them;
- An increasingly mobile and affluent society who are more 'countryside aware' and express new views on rural resource use, particularly land, now that food production is not the single priority;
- An increasing public interest in environmental features and their management and conservation;
- A rising rural population and change in its nature with an increase in the number of non-local people living in the countryside;

- Greater accessibility as a result of improvements in telecommunications and transport systems;
- Growth of non-traditional industries, such as electronics or telephone based services, making the rural economy increasingly indistinguishable from the urban economy;
- Increasing differences between prosperous rural areas (usually accessible) with diversified economies and other areas (usually remote) still heavily reliant on primary industry.

The above trends suggest that the prosperity of many rural areas will have improved, although finding time series data to demonstrate the changing nature of the rural economy is difficult. Until the formation of DEFRA in England and SEERAD in Scotland, rural statistics were fragmented and weak and largely related to agriculture (Hill, 2003). The Scottish Household Survey (Scottish Executive, 2001) allows us to compare 'rural' and urban areas in terms of access to resources and services.

Recognising that rural is both hard to define and far from homogenous, the Survey breaks up the urban – rural continuum as follows:

- The four cities –settlements of over 125,000 people – Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee and Glasgow (38% of households).
- Other urban areas – settlements of 10,000 to 125,000 people (31% of households).
- Accessible small towns – settlements of between 3,000 and 10,000 people and within 30 minutes drive of a settlement of 10,000 or more (10% of households).
- Remote small towns – small towns of between 3,000 and 10,000 people within a drive time of 30 to 60 minutes of a settlement of 10,000 or more (2% of households).
- Very remote small towns - small towns of between 3,000 and 10,000 people within a drive time of over 60 minutes of a settlement of 10,000 or more (2% of households).
- Accessible rural –settlements of less than 3,000 people and within 30 minutes drive of a settlement of 10,000 or more (13% of households).

- Remote rural - settlements of less than 3,000 people and within a drive time of 30 - 60 minutes of a settlement of 10,000 or more (3% of households).
- Very remote rural - settlements of less than 3,000 people, over 60 minutes drive of a settlement of 10,000 or more (3% of households).

The survey found that household incomes in Scotland were quite evenly distributed between types of area. Overall, 26% of households had an annual income of over £20,000 whilst 37% had an income of less than £10,000. Accessible rural areas had the highest proportion of households, 35%, earning more than £20,000 whilst very remote small towns had both the lowest proportion of households, 21%, earning more than £20,000 and the highest proportion of households, 40%, earning less than £10,000. There was not much differentiation between area types in how well households felt that they manage financially.

Overall, 40% of households manage 'very' or 'quite' well, 44% 'get by all right' and 15% either 'don't manage very well' or are 'in financial trouble'. Households in rural areas were found to be more likely to have savings or investments than those in urban areas. Very remote rural areas had the highest proportion of households with savings and investments, 68%, whereas the four cities had the lowest proportion, 48%. Use of public services, such as libraries, open spaces, museums and sports centres, was found to be broadly similar across area types.

The availability of public transport services was not so uniform. Overall, 46% of households had a 'near and frequent' bus service. In the four cities this proportion was 70%, whereas in the remote areas it was 2% or less. However, car ownership and ability to drive was much higher in rural areas with 77% - 82% of households possessing at least one car in rural areas compared to 53% in the four cities, 65% in other urban areas and 60% in very remote small towns.

These statistics suggest that although household income is lowest amongst very remote small towns this is not a characteristic of all rural areas. In general, in terms

of access to resources and services, other than public transport, there is not much difference between rural and urban areas.

2.3.1 Sustainable Rural Development in the 21st Century

The above section describes a very different picture of rural areas from that on which rural development policy in the past has been based, when rural depopulation and low incomes were the main issues being addressed. Allanson (1996) discusses the processes of social and economic change which underlie the sustainable development of the rural economy today. Challenging neo-classical concepts of optimality, it focuses on the need for a holistic understanding of the interrelated processes which make up the rural economy to inform a range of possible policy directions. Puglieses (2000) sees sustainable rural development as combining the 1980s theories on sustainability, mentioned earlier, with new strands of thought on rural development resulting from criticism of the modernisation of agriculture occurring during the twentieth century. Ray (1999) adds that sustainable rural development is widely thought to encompass the endogenous approach to socio-economic development, focusing on localities and their resources, and including the principles of participation, as a more effective means to robust development than its sectoral exogenous counterpart, relying on inward investment. As development has come to be understood as relying on local social, economic and cultural resources, the potential of local community has increasingly moved to the centre of rural development theory (Moseley, 2003). At the same time, although the focus is increasingly local, this is combined with the extra-local in terms of resources, networks and partnerships (Lowe, 1996).

Recent studies have revealed the importance of characteristics of the local area in rural development in peripheral areas of Europe. Copus *et al.*, (2001) found that ‘imperfectly understood and difficult to quantify’ socio-cultural characteristics, rather than conventional competitive or comparative advantage, were the underlying causes for differences in economic performance in rural areas. Amongst others: strong kinship ties and sense of community; fostering trust and cooperation and

reducing transaction costs; tacit knowledge contributing to innovation; networks and links to agencies, government and sources of funding; and the identity of area were found to be important factors in determining the success, or otherwise, of peripheral areas (Bryden *et al.*, 2001; Copus *et al.*, 2001). Ray (1998) observes an unprecedented proliferation of initiatives in which local cultural resources are seen as the key to improving the social and economic well-being of local rural areas.

Van der Ploeg and Brunori and Rossi (Brunori and Rossi, 2000; Van der Ploeg *et al.*, 2000) discuss features of the 'new rural development' emerging in Europe. A wide variety of initiatives in different countries were analysed and found to have the following common themes:

- Reconfiguration of resources and networks;
- Greater attention to internal resource flows;
- Changing social division of labour around and within agriculture;
- Change from economies of scale to economies of scope;
- Re-integration of agro-ecological principles into the core of farming;
- Re-localisation of production-consumption patterns;
- Collective action at the local level;
- Ability to create alliances beyond the locality;
- Opportunities for synergy.

Van der Ploeg *et al.* (2000) note that there is not yet a comprehensive definition of the new emerging type of rural development.

'It is about the construction of new networks, the revalorization and recombination of resources, the coordination and (re-)moulding of the social and the material, and the (re-newed) use of social, cultural and ecological capital. ... It involves the reconfiguration of rural resources, many of which have previously been considered without value.'

Post industrial rural development is thus complex and multifaceted and still emerging in terms of a definition.

2.3.2 Governance

The references made in the previous section to reconfiguration of networks, creation of alliances and collective action as features of rural development are indications of contemporary forms of rural governance which are characterised by the involvement of a diverse range of actors drawn from the public, private and voluntary sectors (Rhodes, 1996; Stoker, 1998).

There is much disagreement about the meaning of the term governance (Newell, 2000). It is a term that has become popular in a context of globalisation in which governments are thought to be less powerful and autonomous than they once were. As Rosenau states (Rosenau and Czempiel, 1992) governance is government without the necessary involvement of governments. Whereas government can be seen as state sponsorship of economic and social programmes, governance refers to the increasing role of non-government actors and implies an increasingly complex set of state-society relationships in which networks rather than hierarchies dominate the policy-making process (Bache, 2003). It refers to governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred; and the role of the state changes from being the main provider of policy to one of facilitating interaction among various interests (Sloat, 2002). Permeable and flexible boundaries between systems facilitate communication and support the achievement of higher level goals (Lyall and Tait, 2005).

Questions emerge both over the effectiveness of these new styles of governance, and also over who has been involved, and who has not, and why (Shortall, 2004).

Goodwin (Goodwin, 1998) points out that this leads to issues of power relations in rural societies. From the governance perspective, power is reconceptualised as being a matter of social production rather than social control, that is 'power to' rather than 'power over'. Through the frameworks and arenas of the new rural governance, individuals and organisations may attempt to gain a greater capacity to act through coming together in new forms to address development goals, management of local assets or other projects.

2.4 The history of forestry in Scotland

The history of land use has consequences for the current state of the land. In forestry, with its long rotations, policies set half a century ago dictate much of the current stock and, thus, to a certain extent, dictate current management practices. This section discusses the history of forestry in Scotland in terms of resources and institutions, from the last ice age up to the current day, providing an understanding of how the forestry sector reached its present state.

2.4.1 Forestry prior to 1914

The ice sheets disappeared from Scotland about 10,000 years ago, soils developed and vegetation followed (Anderson, 1967) and the forests probably reached their fullest extent around 4,000 – 3,000 BC. Permanent residents did not arrive in Scotland until about 3000 BC (Wightman, 1992). These people were hunter gatherers of low population densities and in general had little impact on the trees. However, the Mesolithic period lasted for 4,000 years and (Smout *et al.*, 2005) find evidence of ‘numerous wood fires’ and it is suggested that these practices, combined with climate change, produced much of the blanket bog in Caithness in which trees did not regenerate (Smout *et al.*, 2005). During the Neolithic period, with the beginning of systematic cultivation and stock rearing, substantial clearance took place (Wightman, 1992; Smout *et al.*, 2005). Wightman (Wightman, 1992) estimates that as much as 50% of the tree cover may have gone by the time the Romans invaded.

The absence of reliable historical records or literature from the period 446 – 1097, after the Roman departed until the last Celtic king, make it difficult to determine what happened to Scottish forests during this time (Anderson, 1967). Post 1097, when Celtic customs changed to feudal uses, forest clearance accelerated. Under the feudal system, the land was apportioned to Norman-English incomers who set up local settlements and produced their own food and domestic requirements. During this time over 100 religious houses were also established in or beside remaining forests (Anderson, 1967).

Forest clearance accelerated in the Middle Ages, when trees were cut down to make hunting forests and sheep were introduced, limiting regeneration. The higher population densities in southern and eastern Scotland put pressure on forest resources which were converted to arable land but it was the commercial sheep farming, initially carried out by the monastic houses but soon imitated by others, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries that had the greatest effect (Smout *et al.*, 2005).

The disadvantages of the reduced forest resource became apparent from the Middle Ages onwards (Mather, 1993). By the fifteenth century, Parliament began to express concern: an Act of 1424 imposed a fine on stealers of green wood and bark peelers and one of 1457 ordered landlords to grant leases to tenants only if they planted trees. Further acts in the fifteen and sixteen centuries enjoined the planting and protection of timber and endeavoured to keep royal parks and forests from destruction. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries more extensive afforestation was being carried out, particularly by a number of private land owners in Scotland. Interest was being shown in conifers grown for timber, and mainland European species such as larch and Norway spruce being planted (Anderson, 1967). Between 1750 and 1850 about 200,000 ha were planted in Scotland (Forestry Commission, 2002). During the first half of the nineteenth century, interest in imported species from North American began and species such as Sitka spruce and Douglas fir were introduced. Landowners also planted to create parkland and 'policy woods' around their homes (Mather, 1993; Forestry Commission, 2002). In a few localities, more extensive commercial plantations were established, oriented towards timber demand for shipbuilding and other industrial purposes but by the middle of the nineteenth century, this interest had faded in the light of cheap imports from Canada and elsewhere (Mather, 1993). Planting carried out in the latter half of the nineteenth century was motivated mainly by considerations of amenity and field sports.

By the early 1900s the wooded area of Scotland had shrunk to 35 m ha and less than 5% of Britain was covered in woodland. This compared with more than 20% in most

other European countries. A Parliamentary Select Committee on Forestry reported in 1887, and advocated that a Board of Forestry be established (Mather, 1993). The Royal Scottish Arboricultural Society (established in 1854) was a leading advocate for the state to take a more active role in forestry for many years (Anderson, 1967). The Society formed links with foresters on the continent and research and ‘scientific’ forestry became an interest.

2.4.2 1914 - 1990

During the First World War about 182,000 ha of woodland was cleared to meet the needs of the war effort (Tompkins, 1989) and imports of timber were restricted. In 1916 the Reconstruction Committee was established to consider post-war policy, incorporating a forestry sub-committee under the leadership of Acland. The resulting report, the Acland Report, published in 1917, painted a sorry picture of forestry. Britain only produced 8% of its wood requirements, and imports had increased five fold in the preceding 70 years (Mather, 1993; Mackay, 1995). It stated that an area of 720,000 ha needed to be planted over 80 years in order to sustain the country through another possible war and ensure the country had enough timber should there be shortages on the world market. As well as identifying the problems of relying on timber imports, the Acland Committee noted that there would be social benefits through the employment provided from afforestation, and that poor-quality land could be afforested without significant loss of food production (Mather, 1993). The Acland report also suggested that a Forest Authority be established, with an allocated budget and Parliamentary support, in order to purchase land on which to carry out afforestation. In 1919 the Forestry Act was passed, putting into effect many of the recommendations of the Acland report and the Forestry Commission was established as the state forest service with afforestation as its main responsibility. The primary policy objective was related to a defence strategy – to allow self-sufficiency for periods of up to three years. Other objectives were related to insurance against a world-wide shortage of timber, and to the provision of rural employment in the hope of stemming rural depopulation (Mather, 1993).

The Forestry Commission had a difficult start. In 1922, at a time of financial crisis in the aftermath of the war, the Committee on National Expenditure recommended its abolition, funding was reduced and planting was cut back (Mather, 1993). By the 1930s, the resulting shortfall in planting had been compensated for by increased funding to relieve unemployment, especially in severely depressed areas. Another social element of forest policy, introduced in 1924, was the establishment of forest-worker holdings, which were small scale agricultural holdings whose working could be combined with forest employment. By 1934, over 1200 such holdings had been created (Mather, 1993).

From the outset it had been assumed that arable land would not be afforested and planting was restricted to 'waste' land and hill grazings. Initially sizeable areas of lowland heath of low agricultural value, including areas of coastal sand dunes, were planted, as well as properties in the Highlands and uplands. Afforestation was not perceived to be environmentally destructive and it was assumed that planting would be carried out by the State, so when the Town and Country Planning Act came into effect in 1947, afforestation was excluded from control (Mather, 1993).

After World War II, during which there had been an increase in demand for home grown timber, it was recommended that Britain now required 2 million ha of effective forest to meet the defence strategy and a provision for financial support to private landowners for planting and management was made (Mather, 1993). A second consequence of the war was a major programme of agricultural expansion which made land acquisition for forestry more difficult. Afforestation was effectively pushed onto poorer land, shifting to the north and west and the Southern Uplands, where conditions restricted the range of tree species that could be used and made growth rates hard to achieve (Tompkins, 1989; Mather, 1993).

The rationale behind the planting was thrown into question by the 1957 Zuckerman Committee who concluded that the next war was likely to be nuclear and so the strategic reserve basis for afforestation was no longer valid (Tompkins, 1989; Mather, 1993). A working group was set up and in its findings the strategic defence

considerations were set aside; balance of payments arguments were found to have no long term validity, and commercial return on capital invested was well short of the Government norm. Employment was the only valid factor, and it was only relevant in certain parts of Scotland and Wales (Mackay, 1995). It recommended that rates of planting should be frozen and then reduced. The curtailment of planting was endorsed by the Treasury, but, as a result of pressure from forestry and landowner organisations, grants were increased and after a period of decline, planting accelerated again from the late 1960s, with social and commercial objectives replacing the strategic one. Social and regional issues assumed roles of increasing importance and afforestation was directed to areas suffering from unemployment and depopulation concentrating on upland Scotland and Wales (Mather, 1993; Mackay, 1995). The importance of Scotland increased further with problems of land acquisition and further conflicts between afforestation and conservation and amenity arising in England (Mather, 1993). By 1970, state afforestation levels were at a record level, in excess of 20,000 ha per year.

In the early 1960s private investors joined traditional estates as the main planters in the private sector. The favourable treatment of investment in forestry under income and capital gains tax arrangements led to the emergence of private financial syndicates. In the latter part of the decade new planting rates in the private sector rose to 2,000 ha per year, matching those of the state sector (Mather, 1993).

With the advent of a Conservative Government in 1970 and a cost benefit analysis in 1971 the state planting target was cut back. In a new departure announced in 1980 most of the planting was to be carried out by the private sector and the FC was to start to sell off some of its estate. By 1989 about 10% of the public estate had been transferred to the private sector (Mather, 1993).

During the 1980s, a combination of tax relief and planting grants meant that approximately 70% of the cost of afforestation could be publicly funded for private investors (Mather, 1993). At a time of high rates of taxation on upper earnings, this began to attract a number of high earning individuals into forestry. Land prices were

low in the Scottish Highlands and permission to plant was readily granted by the Agricultural Department. In 1985, 90% of the afforestation which took place in Britain did so in Scotland and much of this was financed by absentee landlords (Tompkins, 1989). The purchase and planting of extensive areas of bog land in Caithness and Sutherland by one private forest management company caught the attention of the conservation movement. As a result of this the tax incentive was removed in 1988. Planting grants were increased through a new Woodland Grant Scheme (Mather, 1993).

Conservation and countryside recreation had been growing in force since the middle of the 20th century. In 1946 Huxley was appointed by the government to consider the question of nature conservation (Adams, 1996). In 1963, the Forestry Commission was instructed to devote more attention to beauty, public access and recreation (Mackay, 1995). In its 1971 report, the setting up of a conservation and recreation branch was announced to develop recreational facilities and potential of the forests. In the 1980s Conservation organisations such as Countryside Commission for Scotland and the Nature Conservancy Council produced their own policy statement on forestry (Countryside Commission Scotland, 1986; Nature Conservancy Council, 1986). The introduction of the Broadleaves Woodland Grant Scheme (BWGS) in 1985 reflected a shift away from the primacy of wood production as an objective. At the same time the FC produced guidelines regarding the management and creation of broadleaf woods with the aim of conserving areas of semi natural woodlands and encouraging planting of broadleaf species. The original Forestry Grant Scheme and BWGS operated in parallel for a few years, before they were merged and were modified in the Woodland Grant Scheme in 1988 when the environmental impact of forestry operations and the environmental and amenity related value of woodlands were given more importance.

Policy shifts also affected who planted and where. The removal of tax benefits and the compensating increase in planting grants favoured farmers and smaller landowners, rather than the previously dominant private investors. The relaxation of policies protecting agricultural land also meant that the integration of farming and

forestry became easier and the introduction of a Farm Woodland Scheme helped make afforestation more attractive to farmers (Mather, 1993).

2.4.3 The Scottish Forest Estate Today: structure and ownership

Today about 17% of the land area of Scotland is forested. This compares with 12% in the UK as a whole and 36% in the EU (Scottish Executive, 2006a). Much of the planting has been of conifers which make up 82% of the area of woodland in Scotland. The main tree species found in Scotland and the proportion of woodland area in Scotland that they account for are shown in table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Woodland area by principal species and size

Species/groups	Woodland size (ha)		Total area (ha)	Percentage of total area	
	2.0 and over	0.1 – 2.0		Category*	Species**
Pine	259,088	5,066	264,154	29	23.5
Sitka spruce	522,925	4,666	527,591	58	47.0
Larch	63,656	1,557	65,213	7	5.8
Other conifers	50,509	788	51,297	6	4.6
Mixed conifers	7,976	259	8,235	1	0.7
Total conifers	904,155	12,335	916,490	100	81.6
Oak	20,215	899	21,114	10	1.9
Beech	8,610	1,351	9,961	5	0.9
Sycamore	10,200	682	10,882	5	1.0
Ash	4,763	141	4,904	2	0.4
Birch	75,996	1,784	77,780	38	6.9
Elm	901	442	1,343	1	0.1
Other broadleaves	16,123	2,562	18,685	9	1.7
Mixed broadleaves	54,323	7,367	61,690	30	5.5
Total broadleaves	191,132	15,231	206,363	100	18.4
Total all species	1,095,286	27,566	1,122,853		100.0

* Category: species/group percentage of conifer or broadleaved category

** Species: species/group percentage of all species

Source: Forestry Commission, 2001. National Inventory of Woodland and Trees: Scotland.

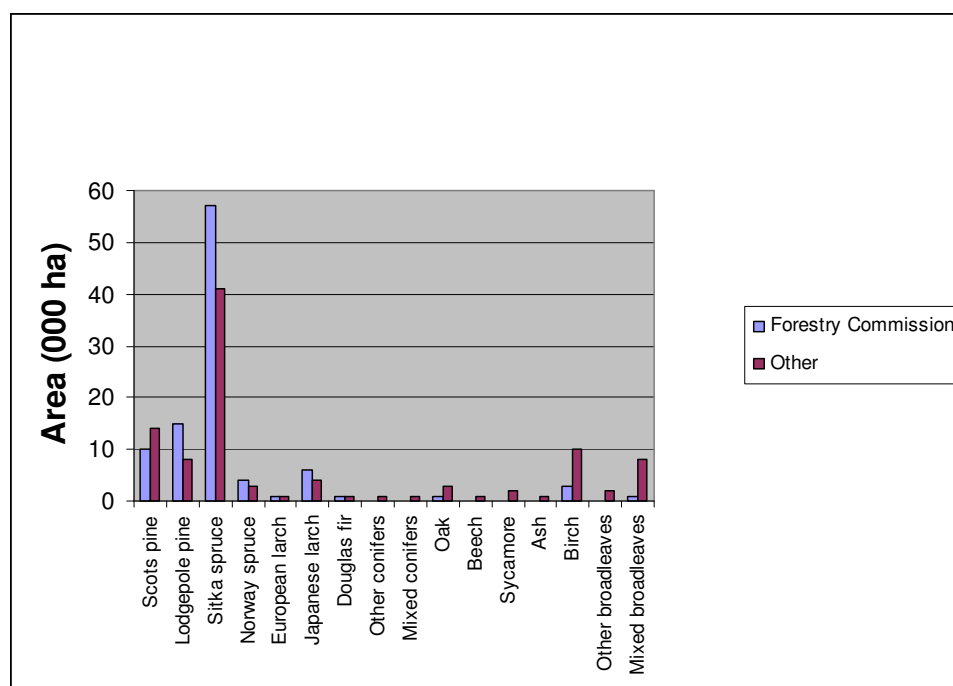
The forested area is distributed between regions as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Woodland area by region

Region	Woodland size (ha)		Total area (ha)	Woodland cover (%)
	2.0 or more	0.1 - < 2.0		
Borders	81,139	6,296	87,435	6.8
Central	51,111	2,254	53,365	4.1
Dumfries and Galloway	170,848	1,709	172,557	13.5
Fife	13,661	1,683	15,344	1.2
Grampian	154,902	3,404	158,306	12.4
Highland	348,507	1,604	350,111	27.3
Lothian	15,944	2,008	17,952	1.4
Strathclyde	316,393	3,527	319,920	25.0
Tayside	97,818	6,214	104,032	8.1
Western Isles	2,418	0	2,418	0.2
Orkney	34	Not surveyed	34	0.0
Shetland	0	Not surveyed	0	0.0
Scotland	1,252,774	28,698	1,281,472	100

Source: Forestry Commission, 2001. *National Inventory of Woodland and Trees: Scotland.*

Figure 2.1 shows that more of the broadleaf species are in non-public ownership, whereas most of the conifers, especially the Sitka spruce, are publicly owned.

**Figure 2.1. Area of high forest by principal species and ownership**

Source: Forestry Commission, 2001. *National Inventory of Woodland and Trees: Scotland*

Approximately 35% of the forested area in Scotland is publicly owned, managed by the Forestry Commission (Forestry Commission, 2006). Figures for a further breakdown of ownership are available from 2001, when a higher proportion of forested land was publicly owned. Table 2.3 shows the breakdown of ownership. Forestry Commission and ‘personal’ each account for 43% of the forested area with business being the only other significant owner in terms of area owned.

Table 2.3. Ownership type by area and percentage

Ownership type	Area (ha)	%
Personal	533,485	42.6
Business	100,738	8.0
Forestry or timber business	27,750	2.2
Charity	14,129	1.1
Local authority	10,812	0.9
Other public (not FC)	13,304	1.1
Forestry Commission	539,478	43.1
Community ownership or common land	327	0
Unidentified	12,755	1.0
	1,252,774	100

Source: Forestry Commission, 2001. National Inventory of Woodland and Trees: Scotland

2.5 Forestry policy from the 1990s

Since the 1990s forestry policy has increasingly been influenced by international conventions and agreements and areas of national policy. Firstly, the UNCED conference and conventions arising from it has established a new perspective to natural resource management in many parts of the world and widely infiltrated policy arenas. More recently, and of increasing importance in all policy fields, is climate change. Thirdly, agriculture and the international policies that affect the profitability of various agricultural systems and products as an alternative land use to forestry are influential. Economic, social and rural development policies also provide a significant backdrop to which forestry policy aims to contribute. Additionally, a number of other conventions and regulations dictate certain forestry practices.

2.5.1 Conventions arising from UNCED

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 has had a huge impact on the policy governing the management of natural resources worldwide. Scotland signed up to a new UK shared framework for sustainable development ‘One future – different paths’. This framework sets out a common goal for sustainable development across the UK. Choosing our Future – Scotland’s Sustainable Development Strategy (Scottish Executive, 2005b) sets out the measures to be taken in Scotland identifying four priorities:

- sustainable consumption and production – reducing inefficient use of resources and encouraging people to think about social and environmental implications of their purchasing choices;
- climate change and energy – securing a profound change in the way we generate and use energy;
- natural resource protection and environmental enhancement – protecting our natural resources, building a better understanding of environmental limits, and improving the quality of the environment; and
- sustainable communities – creating communities that embody the principles of sustainable development locally. (Scottish Executive, 2005b).

The second and third of these priority areas are particularly relevant to forestry.

Sustainable forest management is a key component of sustainable development and the agreements made at Rio, which included the ‘Statement of Forest Principles’ underpin much of what has followed in forestry (Scottish Executive, 2006a). At the European level, the European Union Forestry Strategy (EC, 1998) sets a framework for cooperation on forestry issues. Its principles relate to sustainable forest management and the multifunctional role of forests. In the UK the requirements for sustainable forest management are set out in the UK forestry Standard (published in 1998 and revised in 2004) and all publicly funded forestry is required to meet the criteria it sets out. The revised second edition of the UK Woodland Assurance Standard (UKWAS Steering Group, 2006) provides six sets of criteria under the headings of woodland design, operations, protection and maintenance, conservation and enhancement of biodiversity, the community, and forestry workforce. The first

four sets of criteria comprehensively cover best practice and low impact forestry protocols to ensure that the adverse environmental effect of commercial forestry is regulated to an acceptable level, and measures to ensure that valuable biodiversity and habitats are protected and appropriately managed. The fifth and sixth sets of criteria mainly address the social aspects of sustainability. ‘The community’ includes indicators for consultation, access, rural economy and minimising adverse impacts and ‘forestry workforce’ includes indicators on health and safety, training, workers rights, and insurance. Thus ‘rural economy’ which states that woodland owners/managers should promote the integration of woodlands into the local economy and should be encouraged to make the best use of woodlands’ potential products are the only economic conditions for woodland assurance. The Standard appears to be designed primarily to ensure that commercial woodlands are managed sustainably in that their environmental impact is acceptable, but has minimal requirements for non-commercial woodlands to contribute economically.

The Convention on Biological Diversity (UNCED, 1992) and the 6th European Environmental Action Programme (EC, 2002) committed the UK to the conservation of biological diversity. This has obvious implications for forestry policy in terms of protecting and enhancing biologically valuable habitats.

2.5.2 Climate change

Climate Change is another international issue increasingly influencing forestry policy. The UK and Scotland have a number of commitments to address climate change. The UK Government has set a target of reducing CO₂ emissions by 20% below 1990 levels by 2010, with a longer term goal to reduce CO₂ emissions by 60% by 2050. Changing Our Ways – Scotland’s Climate Change Programme (Scottish Executive, 2006b) quantifies Scotland’s equitable contribution to the UK climate change commitments by means of the Scottish Share. It includes a carbon savings contribution from the forestry sector towards the Scottish Target to be achieved through afforestation, providing biomass as a renewable energy source, promoting wood as a substitute for energy intensive building materials, and reducing timber miles (paragraph 5.91, p39).

2.5.3 Agriculture and WTO

Since the late 1990s progressive reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy and more recently the new Scottish Rural Development Programme have significantly altered the approach to agricultural support and the relationship between agriculture and other land uses. A Forward Strategy of Scottish Agriculture: Next Steps (Scottish Executive, 2006c) highlights forestry as a potential opportunity for agricultural diversification. ‘..... *offering new opportunities for income generation, improving our environment and developing links with the recreation and tourism industries*’ (p 23).

The Common Agricultural Policy is hugely influential in land use decisions and has undergone radical reviews in recent years weakening the link between production and direct farm payments. This decoupling is in line with WTO requirements for the minimisation of ‘trade distorting subsidies’. Reforms in 1999, ‘Agenda 2000’ (implemented by member states between 2000 – 2006) provided an agricultural model which distinguished itself from previous policies, recognising the multifunctional nature of rural areas and responding to the broader societal concerns for sustainability (Kinsella *et al.*, 2000). It allows member states to transfer support from ‘Pillar I’ (production subsidies) to ‘Pillar II’ (support of rural development and environmental protection) (EU, 2001). Land Management Contracts, introduced in Scotland in 2005, now mean that many previously separate subsidies¹ are covered by a single payment and farmers apply for a variety of management measures. Each measure attracts its own payment, but the total payment is capped depending on the size of the farm. Management measures eligible include producing woodland plans and woodland management. From early 2008 funding for agriculture, forestry and environmental measures will be through integrated rural development contracts under the Scottish Rural Development Programme (RDP). This merging of sectors, forestry and agriculture under the RDP is resulting in much closer contact between FCS and the Rural Payments Division and a certain difference in cultures is apparent, with the agricultural payments division in the tradition of giving out money and FCS

¹ LFASS (Less Favoured Areas Support Scheme) is an important support mechanism that has remained outwith Land Management Contracts.

more inclined to take the approach of facilitating initiatives (Driver, pers. com. 07/08/2007).

2.5.4 Rural development

The general recognition of the changing nature of rural areas and a growing number of demands on and conflicts over land use, as described in 2.3, has led to an increased interest in rural policy and a number of policy documents. Rural resources are seen as ‘multi-benefit’ and policy is designed to correct ‘market failure’ (which occurs when freely functioning markets do not maximise collective welfare due to the absence of property rights) to ensure the provision of non-market services, such as wildlife and recreation.

The Rural White Papers for England, Scotland and Wales, announced in 1994, were the first countryside policy statements since the Scott report of 1942 (Gilg, 1999). They outline the governments’ commitments to sustainable, integrated and people centred rural development. They also urge people and local organisations to be active in pursuing their own development.

Towards a Development Strategy for Rural Scotland (Scottish Office, 1998) outlines the principles on which current development policy is based. The overall aim of policies for rural Scotland is to advance and enable the sustainable development of rural communities. It states that policy must reflect the diversity of Rural Scotland – develop different strategies for different areas, work through an integrated approach, and facilitate community involvement and target real needs, emphasising that it is only through community involvement and ownership that the aim of people-centred development strategies can be realised (Scottish Office, 1998). In addition, it stresses the use of partnerships to deliver sustainable rural development. Such partnerships operate at different levels and include all bodies with a contribution to make to rural development. Rural Scotland: A New Approach (Scottish Executive, 2000a) sets out the vision for a successful Scotland which builds on its strengths and embraces change, provides opportunities for young people, offers a high quality of

life with access to services while sustaining and making the most of its natural and cultural heritage.

The new Rural Development Programme for Scotland (The Scottish Government, 2007), under consultation at the time of writing, reflects the priorities laid out in the EU Rural Development Regulation (RDR) (1698/2005) - the EU regulatory framework for supporting rural development between 2007 and 2013. The RDR is based on four measures (EC, 2005):

- Improving the competitiveness of agriculture and forestry by improving human potential; supporting restructuring, development and innovation; and improving the quality of production and products.
- Improving the environment and countryside by supporting land management including 'first afforestation' of agricultural land, establishment of agro-forestry systems on agricultural land, forest-environment payments, and non-productive investments.
- Improving the quality of life in rural areas and encouraging the diversification of economic activity, including support for training and information for economic actors and assistance in preparing and implementing local development strategies.
- Promoting development which is local, bottom-up, multi-sectoral and innovative and involving public/private partnerships, cooperation and networking, through the LEADER initiative.

The prominence that forestry is given as an alternative to, or companion to, agriculture is notable.

2.5.5 Economic and social development

The Framework for Economic Development in Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2004a) confirms growing the Scottish economy as the top priority of the Scottish Government and has the vision

'to raise the quality of life of the Scottish people through increasing economic opportunities for all, on a socially and environmentally sustainable basis.' It

sets out outcome objectives as '*economic growth, regional development, closing the opportunity gap, and sustainable development*' (Scottish Executive, 2004a p 2).

A Smart, Successful Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2004b) aims to raise the long-term, sustainable growth rate and productivity of the Scottish economy through growing businesses, global connections, learning and skills. The forest sector faces a number of challenges if it is to contribute to a growing economy: adding value to wood in Scotland, maintaining timber production, improving efficiencies, diversifying the economic potential, ensuring plantations are well designed and ensuring that the work force is well equipped and motivated (Scottish Executive, 2006a).

A Partnership for a Better Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2003a) committed the Parliament to Closing the Opportunity Gap. Aims are to prevent individuals or families from falling into poverty; provide routes out of poverty for individuals and families; and sustain individuals or families in a lifestyle free from poverty.

(<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/topics/people/social-inclusion/17415/opportunity>)

Forestry can contribute to the wider social agenda through its therapeutic affects and inexpensive ways of encouraging people to be active. Well designed woodland can transform degraded environments and give people pride and a sense of belonging and provide an important entry point for community capacity building through involvement in forestry initiatives.

2.5.6 Other conventions and international regulation

There are many other international regulations and conventions relevant to forestry such as those covering environmental standards and landscapes. Forestry management is particularly relevant to water quality and flood control as well as contributing to soil and air quality. The Water Framework Directive and Floods Directive are relevant. The Environmental Impact Assessment legislation (HMSO, 1999) is applied to afforestation, deforestation and forest roads of a certain size. The UK Government is signatory to the European Landscape Convention (EC, 2000), which requires landscapes to be planned, managed and protected. In Scotland this is

delivered through mechanisms such as designations (eg National Scenic areas), Landscape Character Assessments, Indicative Forestry Strategies and Local Forestry Frameworks. Lastly the Land Reform (Scotland) Act with its right of responsible access has a bearing on forestry.

2.6 The Scottish Forestry Strategy

Since devolution, forest policy in Scotland has been set out in the Scottish Forestry Strategy (Scottish Executive, 2000b; Scottish Executive, 2006a). The new strategy, published in 2006, is a departure from the preceding strategy of 2000. ‘A *repositioning policy will enable the national forest estate to better reflect its role and purpose*’ (p 16). It aims to fulfil an ‘*exemplar and leadership role*’. It will focus on ‘*safeguarding national treasures, areas of greatest public benefit, ... threatened species and regional habitat networks, timber production to facilitate market stability and development.*’ Forests established in the 21st century are to be environmental, social and economic assets for Scotland.

Climate change has become more important as reflected in the contributions forestry can make to climate change targets set out in the new strategy. The value of woods to local people, both rural and urban is given more emphasis, as is their potential to contribute to health and education. Forestry is no longer seen as a ‘stand alone’ industry, but one which is fully integrated with other land uses and contributes to other non-land based agendas such as energy, housing and health. It envisages a broader range of forest related businesses to capture more economic benefits of forestry, as outlined in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Scottish Forestry Strategy: Vision, principles, outcomes, objectives and themes.

Vision	By the second half of this century, people are benefiting widely from Scotland's trees, woodlands and forests, actively engaging with and looking after them for the use and enjoyment of generations to come. The forestry resource has become a central part of our culture, economy and environment		
Principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable development – underpinned by sustainable forest management; • Social inclusion – through helping to provide opportunities for all, and helping to build stronger communities; • Forestry for and with people; • Integration with other land uses and businesses 		
Outcomes	Improved health and well-being of people and their communities.	Competitive and innovative businesses contributing to the growth of the Scottish economy.	High quality, robust and adaptable environment.
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist community participation. • Enhance opportunities for health and enjoyment. • Contribute to growth in learning and skills. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop more efficient and competitive timber supply chain. • Facilitate the development of markets for forest products. • Facilitate rural business diversification and development. • Increase the contribution of forestry to tourism. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help to tackle climate change. • Contribute positively to soil, water and air quality. • Contribute to landscape quality. • Protect and promote the historic environment and cultural heritage. • Help to protect and enhance biodiversity.
Key themes	<p>Climate change</p> <p>Timber quality Community development Environmental</p> <p>Business development Access and health Biodiversity</p>		

Source: Scottish Executive, 2006a, p 8.

Forestry Commission Scotland identifies the '*future priorities of forestry's role in rural development to be:*

- *supporting economic development and the creation of green jobs by encouraging investment in a broader range of complementary, large-scale and small-scale forestry related businesses;*

- *Creating and maintaining attractive, diverse woodlands capable of adapting to future climatic and economic uncertainties;*
- *Helping to achieve significant rural diversification through integration with other land uses, including the piloted use of agro-forestry, a wider range of business opportunities, and the nurturing of transferable skills to provide year-round, quality local employment;*
- *Securing community engagement and empowerment to achieve additional, tailored local benefits, including sites for affordable housing and other appropriate types of development; and*
- *Using woodlands and their associated historic environment to enhance local identity and ‘sense of place’.* (Scottish Executive, 2006a p 78).

The above vision for forestry’s role in rural development demonstrates the many interfaces that forestry can potentially have with various aspects of the local socio-economy whilst also contributing to sense of identity and well-being.

Policy is delivered through management of the public estate and a variety of regulations, controls and incentive schemes, primarily the standard grant schemes. The Scottish Forestry Grants Scheme (SFGS) replaced the Woodland Grant Scheme (see 2.4.2) as the main mechanism for supporting non-state forestry activities in Scotland and helped to deliver the priorities set out in the first Scottish Forestry Strategy. This was the scheme in operation when the field work for this study was carried out. Due to over subscription, the scheme had to close in April 2006. With the new Rural Development Contracts not being due to be introduced until early 2008, a brief funding window was created, open for the second half of 2007, which prioritises planting to tackle climate change.

The new Rural Development Contracts, to be introduced in 2008, are designed to:

- Assist in the delivery of the Scottish Rural Development Strategy and the revised Scottish Forestry Strategy;
- Be consistent with the new EU Rural Development Regulation (1698/2005)
- Be capable of being integrated into the Land Management Contract system. (Forestry Commission Scotland, 2006).

The details of the support measures to be available under these contracts were not available at the time of writing this thesis.

2.7 Community involvement: the role of forestry in rural development

At the beginning of this section, a brief discussion of community is needed. What is ‘community’? The distinction between geographic or place-based and functional or interest-group communities is often made. Traditional communities are generally associated with communities of place, especially in rural areas where distances and isolation contribute to enforcing a bounded sense of community. Appadurai (1990) argued that de-territorialisation or displacement of place by global movement and culture requires a new conceptualisation of society and culture. Increased ease and speed of travel and communication and the rise in mass culture has supported the increased importance of communities of interest. With the, at least partial, loss of communities of place, Eriksen (2001) suggests that ‘construction of place’ becomes a new project which is echoed in rural development thinking (OECD, 2006) where, as already discussed, there has been a re-focusing on place-based communities.

Forests appear to have been one of the main channels through which communities have expressed their desires for local control, amenity provision and other socio-economic benefits. This is particularly in evidence in Scotland, where the forestry sector is reported to be at the forefront of community engagement in land use (Hodge and Maxwell, 2004) and the first community-owned and managed woodland was established in 1987. By 2002, there were 64 operational and 19 planned community woodlands (MacIntyre and Marshall, 2003). According to the Community Woodland Association, there are over 200 groups across Scotland, involved in the management of thousands of hectares of woodland and open space.

(<http://www.community-woods.org.uk/>)

A number of terms are used, often interchangeably, to describe a more locally focused approach to forestry – community woodlands, social forestry and rural development forestry (RDF) (Slee *et al.*, 1996; Evans, 2002). On the whole community woodlands have tended to emphasise the recreational/amenity benefits where as RDF has tended to be associated with economic benefits. Rural

development forestry has been said to include the following characteristics: community involvement in forest planning and management, the recognition of the multiple benefits of forests and a focus on the use of forests to provide local benefits (Slee *et al.*, 1996). Reforesting Scotland define Community Woodlands as those woodland initiatives which are controlled by the local community, as represented by a community woodland group (MacIntyre and Marshall, 2003). There is also a range of ownership/management structures. Some woodlands are both owned and managed by a 'local community group', but many are leased and managed by such a group or managed under a management agreement drawn up between the community group and the owners of the woodland. Even where no formal agreement exists, public bodies such as FC and Scottish Natural Heritage, aim to involve local communities in forest management (see the FC Forestry Strategy and SNH Natural Heritage Futures series).

In addition to the general emphasis on social objectives and participation embodied in sustainable development, the origins of the community woodland movement can be traced to two other areas. Firstly, to work in developing countries, mentioned in section 2.2, which has been particularly influential in the forestry sector. Since the 1970's, there has been an emphasis on involving local people in management of forests in developing countries in order to address problems of deforestation and livelihood needs of rural households. Also in several European countries, such as France, Germany and Italy, there are significant areas of forests owned by local communes, which meet a range of local demands, such as fuel wood and amenity, as well as more conventional timber products. Organisations with experience of these systems overseas were partners to FAPIRA (Forests and People in Rural Areas), an informal partnership established in 1994 between Rural Forum Scotland, WWF, the Forestry Commission and development and countryside agencies. Its purpose was to promote the social value of woodlands and ways that the greatest social benefit could be delivered for local people in rural areas.

With land ownership in Scotland characterised by a large portion of the country owned by very few people and a high proportion of absentee landowners, land reform was high on the political agenda of the new Scottish parliament. After long-standing unease about the iniquitous land rights patterns in Scotland, a Land Reform Policy Group was established in October 1997 and recommendations published in 1999. The Group's main objective was to consider a number of wide-ranging matters relating to land use and tenure in Scotland. Based on the group's recommendations, the Land Reform Scotland Act (2003) introduced rights of responsible access and community rights to buy land (Scottish Executive, 2003b).

The work of FAPIRA and a report, *Forests and People in Rural Scotland*, (Callander, 1995) together with the underpinning processes on sustainable forestry and land reform initiated a process of shifts in policy, delivery mechanisms and organisational culture which gathered pace through the late 1990s (Hodge and Maxwell, 2004). In the words of Hugh Inslay in the forward to 'Community Partnerships on the National Forest Estate' (Forestry Commission Scotland, 2005) '*the Forestry Commission's response to this (the Callander report) was rapid and revolutionary in terms of previously accepted paradigms for estate management*' (p 3). The first formal partnership between the Forestry Commission and a local community was at Laggan, formalised in 1998. The importance of giving communities the option of becoming involved in local woodlands was formally acknowledged by the Forestry Commission with the publications of 'Forests for people working with communities – our commitment' and 'Forests for people working with communities – our approach' in 1999. The Forestry for People Advisory Panel was convened by the FC in 2000 to encourage best practice in the area of community involvement in forestry. This initiative reflects recognition by FC of the need for increased attention to the social aspects of forestry (<http://www.forestry.gov.uk/forestry/hcou-4u4j35>, 23/01/03).

The potential of community woodlands to contribute to rural development is highlighted by MacIntyre and Marshall (2003):

‘There are clear signs that it (the community woodland movement) could play a crucial role in helping reverse the economic and social decline prevalent across much of rural and post –industrial Scotland today. It is quite feasible that, within 10 years .., there could be several hundred community woodland groups .., working to develop their woodlands as a long term, renewable, local resource, using them as a central focus for community based social and educational activities, and as a catalyst for a range of new, locally based, diversified activities.’(p 5).

Despite the claims above, there is a shortage of evidence on the benefits of community involvement and how they are delivered. This is highlighted in the new Scottish Forestry Strategy (Scottish Executive, 2006a) which calls to *‘improve the evidence base on ways to secure maximum benefit from woods in and around communities’* (p. 36). This study contributes directly to this identified need.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature on rural development and forestry relevant to Scotland. In Scotland, there are varying degrees of rurality, with generally only the more isolated or peripheral areas suffering the deprivation that ‘rural development’ was originally designed to tackle. Other rural areas tend to have reasonable levels of investment, employment and incomes. Rural development has changed from a focus on investing in primary industries to create jobs to much broader objectives closely tied to the principles of sustainable development. Endogenous development, focusing on localities and resources, but with access to the extra-local through networks, and with an emphasis on participation is observed to characterise rural development initiatives.

Forestry policy is governed by a complex set of objectives tied into national objectives of timber production, international obligations and codes of practice on sustainability and the ever-increasing emphasis on local involvement and local value. Forestry policy is attempting to embrace a wide range of objectives and how woodland management is adapting to this, the extent that different practices on the ground are able to embody the diversity now envisaged and the perspectives of various stakeholders involved in forestry would be interesting.

Forestry as a vehicle for community involvement is one aspect in which forestry can contribute to rural development. The community woodland movement has gathered pace in Scotland partly driven by the polarised land ownership patterns as well as international factors. The literature reviewed claims that community woodlands result in considerable benefits and attach importance to the potential role that community woodlands could have in rural development. This thesis goes on to explore these benefits in more depth and the factors that determine how they are generated. It also explores the governance arrangements in use to facilitate community involvement and the impact that these arrangements have.

CHAPTER 3: THE BENEFITS OF FORESTRY AND FORESTRY APPRAISAL

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the literature on the benefits of forestry is reviewed, in particular, the social benefits of community involvement. The chapter then goes on to discuss ways in which forestry is appraised and explores the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach as a possible appraisal approach.

3.2 Benefits of forestry

There is an array of benefits associated with forestry, many of which have only been recognised or acknowledged in recent years. Often the three tenets of sustainable development, economic, environmental and social, are used to describe the different areas of benefit, although there is not necessarily consensus on the exact content of each. Social and environmental benefits are also often referred to as non-market benefits as they tend not to produce a financial return, in contrast to economic ‘market’ benefits.

ERM and Willis (ERM and Willis, 2004) include the following benefits under these three headings, although they do qualify their placing of benefits by saying that some benefits may fit in more than one category.

- a) Economic: timber production and processing, employment, land regeneration, urban regeneration.
- b) Social: education, cultural history, rural development, archaeology and heritage, social inclusion, health effects.
- c) Environmental: biodiversity, carbon sequestration, flood alleviation, pollution reduction, landscape and recreation, water quality.

Similarly, the Forestry Commission (Forestry Commission, 2002) describes forests as being:

- a) for people, providing recreation, education and community involvement;

- b) for the environment, providing native woodlands, habitats, enhanced landscapes and water, air and soil services, and
- c) for the economy, providing timber and employment.

As well as developments in recognising more environmental and social benefits of forestry, additional economic benefits are also being noted. Recent work by Slee (2005) found that the ‘halo or shadow effect’, which is the indirect impact on surrounding economic activity, for example through increased turnover by tourism businesses or household/business location decisions, had a greater economic impact than that of forestry activity itself. Non-timber forest products, such as fungi, can also provide economic benefits as can some aspects of recreation if managed accordingly.

In terms of general research, the social benefits of forestry are under-explored:

‘There is a substantial literature on the economic values of conventional forest-related activity. There is a rapidly expanding literature about the impact of amenity Non-market economic values have also been subjected to considerable inquiry. Recreational values can (now) be enumerated with reasonable accuracy. Biodiversity values have also been well-researched There is a burgeoning literature about the science of carbon storage The social values of forestry have not been widely explored, especially from a perspective that informs thinking about rural development’ (University of Aberdeen et al., 2002 p 36).

3.2.1 The social benefits of community involvement

Before exploring the literature on the benefits of involvement in woodland initiatives, this section turns to some of the literature on the involvement of communities in rural development; in what ways they might be involved and factors that affect the development outcomes related to involvement. Community involvement can take different forms. First, as already discussed in 2.3.1, an endogenous approach to rural development is currently favoured which concentrates on local resources, one of which is people. In this vein, this section firstly, highlights theory and evidence that suggest people and social resources as important assets to development. Second, as outlined in 2.7, participation in the planning and

implementation of development is seen to help ensure that development is appropriate and sustainable. In this respect, community involvement is an element of the new governance agenda which involves partnerships between community groups and other actors. Such community involvement can also bring accountability and democracy to the partnership (Cherrett, 1999) and give it legitimacy (Shorthall and Shucksmith, 1998) as other actors are often unelected with government only one of several partners. These two aspects of 'community involvement' interrelate – the former can be seen as a resource and the latter a process. One of the outcomes of the process of participation can be the accumulation of social and cultural resources.

The value of community involvement in terms of local social resources in endogenous development is discussed by a number of authors (Ray, 1999; Day, 1998; Bryden and Hart, 2004; Carnegie UK Trust, 2007). Bryden and Hart (2004), in a systematic analysis to compare key factors underlying the comparative development of peripheral rural areas in Europe show that intangible factors such as cultural vitality, local traditions, community associations, networks and institutions linked to entrepreneurial qualities, and the ease of adaptation to new forms of governance accounted for most of the differentials in economic performance. The Carnegie UK Trust Commission for Rural Community Development, in '*one of the most comprehensive consultations on the challenges and opportunities facing local rural communities*' (p 10), also find recognising and building on and harnessing community assets to be an enabling factor in rural development (Carnegie UK Trust, 2007).

The potential of existing or latent cultural and social resources is highlighted (Ray, 1999; Day, 1998; Putman, 2000). Ray (1999) discusses how culture, as a capital resource, can be revitalised and captured by territories engaged in endogenous development. He suggests that development policy should focus on people rather than areas and target regional cultures, building cultural-territorial identity. Drawing an analogy between mental health problems and areas in need of development, Ray sees an 'identity crisis' where a lack of collective confidence affects the vibrancy of a place and the remedy is to reconstruct an identity. In this vein the territorial-

cultural strategy (re)-discovers local culture and history which are then valorised and exploited by the need for local people to '*manifest place-community and by the enabling opportunity of endogenous-type intervention policies*' (p263).

Day (1998) also sees the potential of the 'cultural and social patterns of a locality' and the potential of development to make use of their natural interconnections. As such, development should be embedded in existing social networks, building on the trust and confidence which are necessary in order to mobilise resources and for success. He also notes that local social structures and values can be resistant to change and block development and an understanding of how they operate, who they include and exclude and how they relate to power and decision making is needed.

Putman (, 2000) concentrates on social capital as a community resource. Although noting that social capital can have negative consequences, he argues that it is important for health and wellbeing, democracy, safe and productive neighbourhoods, education and children's welfare, as well as economic prosperity. As such it should be considered a factor of great importance in terms of development and there is an argument that development efforts should concentrate on the creation of social capital. This is supported by the Carnegie Trust (, 2006) which identifies social capital as one of the most important assets that all rural communities have access to.

Putman (2000) also suggests that the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital is perhaps the most important difference between dimensions of social capital. Mosely and Pahl (2007) investigate how these different types of social capital affect development outcomes. Distinguishing between bonding (ties which bind homogeneous groups), bridging (ties that bridge between various groups) and linking (ties that link with external sources of power and resources) (p7), they find that social capital has great potential for social cohesion but that equally it can reinforce social division. They find evidence of bonding social capital being developed both as a consequence of and in pursuit of collective leisure activities and weak bridging capital and a lack of effective linking capital to have resulted in ineffective development efforts. They concluded that bridging social capital is

‘crucial to social cohesion and the amelioration of social exclusion’ and that, in general, there needs to be a *‘significant deployment of linking social capital’* (p 25). Ray (1999) suggests cultural – territorial identity can be a useful mechanism in establishing linking social capital when the culture is marketed or recognised externally as being associated with a place.

Findings of studies and policy recommendations suggest that participation leads to social capital building (Putman, 2000; Bryden and Hart, 2004). Putman (2000) explores types of participation, active and passive, and finds that only the more active forms of participation lead to social capital building as opposed to membership and other nominal involvement in groups. Bryden and Hart (2004) conclude that *‘success depends on people doing it for themselves at the local level, not just individually, but also collectively’* (p 335). They recommend that decision making is devolved and that there should be resource transfers to local levels, facilitating collective local projects.

The benefits of participation are heavily dependent on micro-politics (McAreavey, 2006). Micro-politics is defined as *‘the intangibles occurring within a group as a result of the interaction of a set of individuals working together’* (p89) and relates to positive and negative aspects of group dynamics, such as trust, norms, shared knowledge, understanding, values, social networks and personality traits. Micro-political processes determine behaviour in meetings, who is in control and what is discussed and the direction of the group. McAreavey (2006) found power tactics were exerted within the meeting norms of decision making and agenda setting with dimensions of power being subtle and hidden and reinforcing existing barriers. Micro-politics can underpin the formation of social capital. McAreavey (2006) also found positive tactics, resulting in benefits such as access to information or networks.

Communities need assistance to participate effectively and for participation to lead to productive forms of social capital. The need to grow the capacity of local people, agencies and professionals that support rural communities was emphasised by the Carnegie UK Trust (2006). The Trust found that skilled professionals in community

rural development are vital to help build networks and facilitate the dialogue between local people and external agencies in order to cultivate and invest in social capital. Prolonged assistance is emphasised by Shucksmith (2000) who examines LEADER projects in the UK. Questioning whether the development of social capital assists in social inclusion, he notes that endogenous development tends to favour those who are active and have the capacity to engage with initiatives and suggests that initiatives should aim to build social capital in a way that does not exclude marginalised groups. This requires animation and capacity building activities to continue after collective action has occurred to ensure that those less inclined to participate have the necessary time to become involved (Shorthall and Shucksmith, 1998).

Although not specifically concerned with natural resources or forestry, the studies noted do suggest that participation in local resources has potential as a mechanism for development. Bryden and Hart (2004) recommend that local communities are given provision to purchase local resources as a basis for sustainable development. The Carnegie UK Trust Commission for Rural Community Development (2006) predicts a future when less funding is available and communities will need to increasingly rely in their own resources and have the capacity to harness assets. Based on this, the Trust suggests the '*essential ingredients of a thriving rural community of the future to be:*

- *community ownership and management of local assets;*
- *stronger local governance and effective community action planning;*
- *strong social networks founded on high levels of volunteering and skilled support.'* (p 10).

The next section turns to literature specifically regarding the social benefits of community involvement in woodlands.

Since there has been an increased emphasis on the social benefits of forestry, there has been considerable discussion on what those benefits might include. The social values of woodlands in general include a wide range of components: '*livelihood*

basis, economic security, cultural and social identity and quality of life' (Bass, 2001) or '*health, education, social inclusion and cultural history, archaeology and heritage*' (ERM and Willis, 2004).

The social benefits of community involvement are somewhat narrower than those of forestry in general. Advocates of 'participation' have often claimed that it leads to 'empowerment', which is popularly conceptualised as 'influencing decision-making' (Jeanrenaud and Jeanrenaud, 1997). A slightly more encompassing and suitable interpretation which is also used (ie Maxwell, *pers. comm.* 35/02/05) might be increased community capacity, in other words, factors that increase the capacity of the community or group to develop other initiatives with further benefits, economic, environmental and social.

What are the components of community/group capacity and how might they be identified? Ostheden (1999) describes themes under which to assess the outcomes of participation in community woodlands, two of which refer to community capacity:

- Local empowerment – by creating opportunities for communities to have access to external resources (such as training or credit) or to mobilise their own resources (organisation, knowledge, skills). This enhances their capacity to take action to defend their own interests;
- Two-way learning process between the local community and the project - it should strengthen local capacity to identify and mobilise local as well as external resources needed to undertake sustained actions;
- Allow the integration of local knowledge systems in local project planning and implementation;
- Enhance political commitment and institutional support.

MacIntyre and Marshall (2003) describe four areas in which community woodlands can provide benefits to the local community, two of which can be categorised as social:

- Capacity building and life-long learning: developing local skills in order to meet the needs of the community woodland, from professional to

practical. The actual process of acquiring and managing land develops the skills (and the confidence to use them) of the individuals involved.

- Community building and social inclusion: while in many cases a small group forms the active core of the project, it is normal for a majority of the people in a community, of all ages and backgrounds, to get involved in a community woodland project. Many community woodland groups report that their project has had the effect of bringing the community closer together. Community woodlands also provide a focus for local community empowerment, encouraging local communities to become more self-reliant, both in terms of running their own initiatives and in pooling and drawing on local resources.
- Economic development and rural employment.
- Environmental improvement.

These references thus suggest that involvement leads to access to resources, skills and knowledge and social inclusion. This is supported by Burns *et al.* (2002) who suggests that participation allows people to develop skills and networks, important elements in trying to generate social capital and reduce social exclusion. Resources are often accessed through networks and contacts, which are elements of social capital.

Sullivan and Kuo (1996, cited in Selman, 2001) found that local woodlands provide places for neighbours to meet, and can facilitate the development of social networks. Social capital was found to be accumulated through community involvement by Pickering (2002). Evans *et al.* (2002) noted that

‘By working together to create and maintain community woodlands, local groups will be increasing their social and cultural capital and increasing their chances of successfully maintaining and developing local cultures, creating local knowledge, and profiting from them’ (p 92).

Social inclusion, is also noted by ERM and Willis (2004) who describe woodland activities such as tree planting, walks and craft training as providing a forum for

people of all ages and cultural backgrounds to come together. They cite an example from the West Midlands which has been successful in engaging ethnic minorities.

Slee *et al.* (2004) have observed additional benefits to capacity and social inclusion. *‘Social values comprise the sum of values to local communities arising from identity and a sense of belonging, social capital building and social entrepreneurship arising from the development of tree related projects.’* (p 445) Identity and sense of belonging was found to be a significant benefit of proximity to woodlands by several studies in the UK, (Hodge, 1995; Burgess and O'Brien, 2002; Hunter *et al.*, 2002). Evans (2002) argues that the symbolic value created by community woodlands is often greater than the economic.

‘Woodlands often operate as a perceptual centre to the community through the revitalisation of community properties which have been abandoned or downgraded and in this way spread the benefits of the woodland much more comprehensively throughout the community’ (pg 88).

‘ ... community woodlands focus on a symbolic commons – a place of community, a sign of the investment of local care, time and effort in a place, something which counters the perceived reduction of the role of the local spatial community given the ... increased mobility of modern life.’ (p 89).

This is supported by an evaluation of the Wychwood Project which found the project to have increased pride in the heritage of the area and to have been a factor in people, in particular new arrivals, feeling part of their community (Bejot-Seeboth, 2003).

This suggests that building of social capital, knowledge and skills, social inclusion, sense of belonging, social entrepreneurship and cultural capital may be associated with being involved in local woodlands.

a) Social Capital.

This study explores the extent to which participation in woodland initiatives leads to changes in levels of social capital and the types of social capital being changed. Although not part of the analysis of this study, it seeks to be aware of how micro-politics might be affecting the benefits of involvement

The concept of social capital has been much debated. Its value was identified by Jacobs (1961) and Bourdieu (1986), given a clearer theoretical framework by Coleman (1990) and brought to wide attention by Putman (Putman *et al.*, 1993). Putman (1995) defines it as features of social organisation, such as networks, norms and trust that encourage coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) specify the importance of social interactions as the basis of social capital and that it gives rise to the potential to contribute to the social, civic or economic well-being of a community of common purpose. It has been pointed out that there are negative aspects of social capital, such as exclusion of outsiders and levelling of norms (Portes, 1998). There have been many criticisms of the concept. It is argued that it is nothing new and is the latest ‘buzz word’ meaning all things to all people and lacks empirical specificity (Woolcock, 1998). Despite its weaknesses, it is increasingly being used by national and multilateral organisations as an indicator of wellbeing. Two organisations have invested much effort in unravelling the concept and trying to apply it practically.

The World Bank launched the Social Capital Initiative in 1996 to help advance the theoretical understanding and the practical relevance of the concept of social capital. A two pronged definition of social capital is used, dividing it into structural and cognitive social capital.

‘Structural social capital facilitates information sharing and collective action and decision making through established roles, social networks and other social structures supplemented by rules, procedures and precedents. ... Cognitive social capital refers to shared norms, values, trust, attitudes and beliefs’ (Grootaert and van Bastelaer, 2002 p 3).

Second, the UK Office for National Statistics (ONS) has dedicated a working group to social capital to coordinate a cross-government process of defining and measuring social capital. The ONS follows the OECD definition: *‘networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups’* (Cote and Healy, 2001: 41 in Harper and Kelly, 2003). Networks both formal and informal are central to the concept of social capital and they are defined as the personal relationships which are accumulated when people interact with each other. This is divided into three types of relationship:

- Bonding social capital – describes closer connections between people and is good for ‘getting by’ in life.
- Bridging social capital – describes more distant connections between people and is characterised by weaker, but more cross-cutting ties e.g. with business associates, acquaintances; it is good for ‘getting ahead’ in life.
- Linking social capital – describes connection with people in positions of power and is characterised by relations between those within a hierarchy where there are differing levels of power and is good for accessing support from formal institutions.

The ‘shared norms, values and understanding’ relate to shared attitudes about behaviour which are common in society and which are accepted by most individuals and groups as a ‘good thing’ to do. Groups in this context are very broadly defined and can refer to geographical groups, professional groups, social groups and virtual groups.

Social capital is difficult to measure directly and for empirical purposes the use of proxy indicators is necessary. Despite the obstacle of finding appropriate indicators, the *‘overriding lesson that emerges from the social capital initiative (SCI) is that it is possible to measure social capital and its impact.’* (Grootaert and van Bastelaer, 2002 p 30).

The ONS has developed a framework outlining the dimensions of social capital to be measured and related criteria. The framework was based on reviewing the dimensions most commonly measured by a range of surveys, guidance from the social capital work group, and identifying areas of measurement which have proved most crucial in previous analyses. For each dimension of the measurement framework, a set of questions has been developed.

Table 3.1. UK Social Capital Measurement Framework

Dimension	Examples of indicators
Social participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of cultural, leisure, social groups belonged to and frequency and intensity of involvement, • Volunteering, frequency and intensity of involvement, • Religious activity.
Civic participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceptions of ability to influence events, • How well informed about local/national affairs, • Contact with public officials or political representatives, • Involvement with local action groups, • Propensity to vote.
Social networks and social support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frequency of seeing/speaking to relatives/friends/neighbours, • Extent of virtual networks and frequency of contact, • Number of close friends/relatives who live nearby, • Exchange of help, • Perceived control and satisfaction with life.
Reciprocity and trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trust in other people who are like you, • Trust in other people who are not like you, • Confidence in institutions at different levels, • Doing favours and vice versa, • Perception of shared values.

Source: Harper and Kelly, 2003, p 7.

The World Bank Social Capital Initiative (SCI) suggests a more flexible approach. The selection of the proxy variables in the Social Capital Initiative case studies was inspired by the specific manifestations of social capital in the study area, or the specific vehicles (associations, social networks) through which social capital is acquired. *‘Due to the strong contextual nature of social capital, it is unlikely that it will ever be possible to identify a few ‘best’ indicators that can be used everywhere’* (Grootaert and van Bastelaer, 2002 p 13). Different studies have focused on different measures such as memberships in networks, the prevalence of social networks, patterns of interaction within a specific group, density of membership in associations, participation in meetings and decision making and the number of collective village activities as a measure of structural social capital (Fafchamps and Minten, 2002; Isham and Kahkonen, 2002; Krishna and Uphoff, 2002). The cognitive dimension has been measured by measures of trust, reciprocity and sharing (Pargal *et al.*, 2002).

This study does not attempt to measure the level of social capital in the communities, but rather to ascertain whether the woodland initiatives have led to changes in social capital. Operationalising social capital generally includes several dimensions such as acquaintanceship networks, social trust and collective action (Otto *et al.*, 2001; Grootaert and van Bastelaer, 2002) or social participation, civic participation, social networks, and reciprocity and trust (Harper and Kelly, 2003). Studies assessing the effects of policies or projects on levels of social capital have focussed on different dimensions of social capital, depending on the particular project under analysis (Grootaert and van Bastelaer, 2002).

This study explores changes in bonding, bridging and linking social capital and follows a number of authors (for example Lee *et al.*, 2005; Krishna and Uphoff, 2002; Fafchamps and Minten, 2002 and Isham and Kahkonen, 2002) in focussing on the development of relationships and networks. Trust in people is used in this study, (following Isham and Kahkonen, 2002; Reid and Salmen, 2000; Pargal *et al.*, 2002 and Rose, 1998) and trust in institutions (following Rose, 1998). Bringing people together, following Putman (2000), is also used to compare the impact of the woodland initiatives to other community facilities or initiatives.

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b) Knowledge and skills

Community involvement in woodland management is likely to lead to increased levels of knowledge and skills which are potentially transferable and increase community capacity. Practical skills relating to managing woodlands, skills involved in working with other people and knowledge about legal issues, fund-raising and project management and woodland management, may accrue to individuals involved in managing woodlands. Other knowledge and skills may be acquired by people attending activities or visiting the wood. This study explored the area of skill or knowledge acquired, how it was acquired and how it has been and is being used. Note that there is some cross over between social capital and knowledge/skills in that networks, contacts and membership of groups will often give access to resources including knowledge and skills. Indeed, occasionally descriptions of social capital

include skills (HM Inspectorate of Education, 2002). However, given that knowledge and skills are not mentioned in the DFID, Word Bank or ONS description (although information is) and that it is likely to be a significant benefit of community involvement, it has been included as a separate item for this research.

c) Connection and sense of belonging

The presence of a woodland with community involvement may affect how people feel about the area they live in. They may feel pride, or that they have a stake in the area or that they are more part of the community. Any of these may give them a greater sense of belonging or connection to the area. On the other hand, if there are conflicts over the wood, there is the potential that people could feel ostracised or excluded. This study is interested in whether people have felt differently about their area since they have had a local woodland project in which the community is involved and, if so, in what way and why.

d) Social entrepreneurship

‘Social entrepreneurs are the equivalent of business entrepreneurs but they operate in the social .. sector building something from nothing and seeking innovative solutions to social problems’ <http://www.can-online.org.uk/se/> . Social entrepreneurs usually re-direct, use and regenerate under-used or redundant human and physical resources. Their aim is to build social capital and social profit to improve the quality of life in communities. They tend to identify unmet social needs and generate solutions and often work in creative partnerships. They bring to life a strong sense of community and create and invest in social capital (Leadbeater, 1997); <http://www.can-online.org.uk/se/>).

This description suggests that the outcomes of social entrepreneurship are social capital and sense of community. If this is the case, an assessment which already includes social capital and sense of belonging, should not measure social entrepreneurship as an additional outcome in itself. However, it would be useful to assess the presence of social entrepreneurship and, in particular, whether other social

enterprises or initiatives arise as a result of any social entrepreneurship created by community involvement in the woodland initiatives.

e) Cultural capital

Cultural capital was first articulated by Pierre Bourdieu who saw it existing in three forms (Bourdieu, 1986), the embodied state, in the form of long lasting dispositions of the mind and body; the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods, and the institutionalised state, a form of objectification. Bourdieu includes any and all cultural resources available to any individual or group in any field and capital is therefore valued or not depending on the field it is located within (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Cultural capital has been mostly used, as by Bourdieu, in the field of education. Outwith this field, research exploring social exclusion defines cultural capital as the roles that distinctive kinds of cultural tastes, knowledge and abilities play in relation to the processes of class formation (Silva and Edwards, 2004) and Berkes and Folke (1994), writing from an ecological economics perspective, describe cultural capital as factors that provide human societies with the means and adaptations to deal with the natural environment.

To investigate how cultural capital might be acquired or lost, the term culture needs to be explored. It is a concept that has been used widely by a number of disciplines and definitions and uses of the term have varied to the extent that it has been described as *‘a term which has plagued the social sciences for over a century’* (Gerring and Barresi, 2003 p 203) . Two key works have tried to make sense of the proliferation of definitions. An older study (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1953) undertakes a comprehensive review of uses of the term culture and concludes that

‘the central idea followed by most social scientists ... follows: culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action’ (p 181).

More recently Gerring and Barresi (2003) have used a ‘min-max’ strategy to develop core definitions for the concept of culture. The strategy involves sampling uses, typologising attributes and constructing minimal and ideal-type definitions. The minimal definition is based on *‘the bare essentials of the concept (embodying) all definitional attributes that are necessary and therefore always present’* (p 207). The ideal-type definition need not have a real empirical referent, but *‘aims for a collection of attributes ... that includes all non-idiosyncratic characteristics that together define the concept in its purest, most ideal form’* (p 208). The minimal definition has relatively clear borders, whereas the ideal type definition is ‘fuzzier’. The minimal and ideal-type definitions were found to have the attributes outlined in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Culture: Min-Max Definitions

	Minimal Definition	Ideal-type Definition
Production and transmission	Social	Social
		Human
Characteristics	Ideational or symbolic	Ideational or symbolic
	Patterned	Patterned
	Shared	Shared
		Enduring
		Cumulative
		Coherent
		Differentiated
		Comprehensive
		Holistic
		Non-interest based
		Implicit
Functions		Causal
		Constitutive

Source: Gerring and Barresi, 2003, p 210.

Thus, in its minimal form, culture is a set of beliefs or behaviours which are produced socially. They are also transmitted socially or ‘learned’ and often spoken of as a heritage or tradition. Formal rules, behaviour and objects are only cultural if they signify something other than themselves. The fact that humans are born into a culture, rather than randomly producing it, means that there is a degree of pattern to a culture, although it is not always obvious. Lastly, a culture is shared by a social group, such as a nation, an ethnic group or a trade.

In its ideal-type, as well as being produced and transmitted socially, culture is a distinctly human phenomenon. In addition to being symbolic and patterned, its characteristics are that it is enduring in nature (being slow to change), it builds and alters in a cumulative fashion, it is coherent and interconnected, it is unique to a particular group, it is comprehensive and holistic in the range of beliefs and practices it covers (rather than being related to a single issue), its beliefs and practices are generally not merely a function of self-interest and nor are they formalised (rather being implicit). Its functions are both causal, constraining and influencing human action, and constitutive, influencing people and their experiences with a certain essence.

Cultures change slowly and ‘at the edges’. Any suggestions of influence of recent initiatives, such as community woodlands, on culture need to be speculative. Despite this, we can still look for effects on values or attitudes or regular practices that might indicate a shift in culture.

Most cultural capital research has explored relationships between levels of cultural capital and educational achievement or social stratification. No studies were found that have sought to investigate the impact of policies or projects on cultural capital. In analysing work on cultural capital, Lamont and Lareau (1998) find that the focus is on a number of types of cultural attitudes, preferences, behaviours and goods and that it has assumed a number of meanings and been operationalised in different ways. Many studies have focused on the effects of unequal socioeconomic status and student and/or parent cultural capital on education. Cultural capital has been measured through participation in ‘high culture activities’, generally art, music and literature, (for example: Dumais 2002; DiMaggio and Mohr; 1985; De Graff 1989) or through educational attainment (Robinson and Garnier, 1985 cited in Lamont and Lareau, 1998). Bennett *et al.* (2005) measure cultural capital within the contexts of the cultural fields of music, reading, film, TV, sports, art, leisure and eating out, exploring taste, participation and knowledge in each and patterns between them.

This study seeks to explore the claim that community woodlands contribute to cultural capital (Evans, 2002). As noted by Lamont and Lareau (1988) one of the difficulties in operationalising cultural capital is to identify the signals which constitute different 'cultures'. To compound this, the literature in which the claim is made that community woodlands contribute to cultural capital (Evans, 2002) does not elaborate on the field in which the cultural capital is located. Therefore, rather than asking questions about specific cultural attitudes, preferences or behaviours, individuals in this research project are asked whether the community woodland initiatives have had any effect, and what that effect has been, on their beliefs or attitudes and whether this has been embodied in any changes in behaviour or habits. This enables the study to potentially comment on whether culture is being affected and whether cultural capital is being built in any field. Another indication of the cultural capital is ascertained by asking about woodlands products, an indication of Bourdieu's 'objectified state', which is also used to explore people's connection to their woodlands.

f) Social inclusion

Social inclusion is about reducing inequalities between the least advantaged groups and communities and the rest of society (www.scotland.gov.uk/topics/people/social-inclusion, 14 June, 2007). Access to woodlands is generally free and so appreciated by low-income households (O'Brien, 2004). Any mechanisms that increase or promote access are therefore potentially contributing to social inclusion, although in a passive fashion. Community involvement usually results in improved access being a priority objective and so one could speculate that community involvement may contribute to social inclusion through better access. In addition, if the woods are promoted as a resource for use by specific groups, social inclusion may be further enhanced.

This study does not explore social inclusion in depth. It does not assess income levels or other limiting factors that may contribute to exclusion, although it seeks to get a general feeling for the communities and their make up. It is not therefore able to comment on whether the communities who are served by the woodlands, or

elements of those communities are excluded. This study investigates who in the community is using the woodlands in terms of age, gender and length of residence. It also explores if and how the woodlands are used by other user groups through interviews with partnership organisations and key individuals in each initiative.

Age and gender are recognised as features of social exclusion. Data from 2006/2007 show that 50% of people over the age of 50 suffer disadvantage with respect to one aspect of their life (Age Concern, 2008) although 'older people' are a far from homogenous group with people living longer and the rise of the 'Third Age' (Linley, 2000). Younger people are also often vulnerable to exclusion, especially those between the ages of 16 and 21 years (Shucksmith, 2003; The Scottish Office, 1999). Gender inequalities are a 'fundamental feature of social exclusion' (Fagan *et al.*, 2006 p 7), particularly linked to lower employment rates and earnings experienced by women. Length of residence is suggested as a 'grouping' to be explored with regard to issues of exclusion (Shucksmith, 2003) and was known to be an issue in the case study area with some antagonism between those that see themselves as traditional dwellers of the region and affluent incomers. Indeed wages earned in the Scottish Borders are amongst the lowest in Scotland but there is a large income discrepancy between the increasing number of those that commute to work compared to those working locally (Scottish Executive, 2006d; Hallaitken, 2007).

3.3 Forestry appraisal

3.3.1 Assessing the value of forestry

The value of forestry is usually assessed through cost-benefit analysis (CBA), the foundations of which lie in the utility theory of neoclassical economics. Early assessments of forestry concentrated on aggregate financial appraisals at the national level with cost-benefit analyses in 1972 and 1986 concentrating on rates of return on new planting, recreational benefits and costs of job creation (H.M. Treasury, 1972; The National Audit Office, 1986 in CJC Consulting *et al.*, 2003). More recent CBAs tend to concentrate on particular types of forest investment or options for forest management (CJC Consulting *et al.*, 2003).

Since the 1980s there has been considerable attention to developing specific methods to assess different non-market benefits so that these can be included in an overall 'total economic value' approach to cost-benefit analysis. This has been stimulated by the fact that investment in forestry in the UK cannot be justified on straightforward commercial grounds. Methods to measure the additional benefits have been broadly defined as direct or indirect (Pearce and Turner, 1990).

Indirect measures calculate a 'dose response' to a given scenario on which a measure of preference is based. An example of a dose response might be value depreciation due to pollution. Direct measures try to assess the monetary value of an environmental gain or loss through looking for a surrogate market or using experimental methods. The most developed examples of direct measures are 'hedonic pricing', 'travel costs' and 'contingent valuation'. Hedonic pricing is based on comparing property prices and deducing the effects of environmental attributes on price (e.g. Anderson and Cordell, 1988; Willis and Garrod, 1992). Travel cost is based on gauging the distances people are prepared to travel, the time taken, and costs incurred in order to experience an environmental attribute (e.g. Willis, 1991). Contingent valuation is based on asking people what they would be prepared to pay for a hypothetical benefit or what payment they would be willing to accept for a hypothetical loss (e.g. Batemen et al., 1996; Garrod and Willis, 1997; Scarpa, 2003).

A recent study by CJC Consulting (CJC Consulting *et al.*, 2003) reviews existing data sources to try to estimate national values for recreation, carbon sequestration, water, biodiversity, landscape and amenity, health, pollution absorption, economic regeneration and rural development.

The large discrepancies in data from different studies reviewed reveal the challenges in producing national, or even regional, valuations and the importance of the local surroundings and situation to any assessment. This was recognised by Slee and Snowdon (1999) who included some non-market benefits in their economic assessment of the extent to which Rural Development Forestry (RDF) supports

development compared to commercial forestry. An economic appraisal showed returns from the RDF initiatives to be considerably lower than the commercial control. However, the authors note that the economic analysis did not include all the components of non-market value in the RDF alternatives. They also acknowledge that discussions with communities revealed that different communities may wish to derive different benefits and a *'more participatory approach may yield evidence of a wider range of community interests and values'* (p 282).

In her appraisal of RDF, Edwards (2000) observed that her appraisal methods, contingent survey and semi structured interviews, were not helpful in identifying factors about the community which might be influential in determining benefits. Sithole (Sithole *et al.*, 2002) recommend that participatory rural appraisal be a component of assessing the economic importance of forests to people's livelihoods and that an interdisciplinary approach is necessary to gain a fuller understanding of the complexities of the study area and its people and institutions.

A recent study, 'Understanding Forestry in Rural Development' (Slee, 2003) develops a more comprehensive approach to understanding and assessing the benefits flowing from forestry. It suggests that any appraisal should gather qualitative (in addition to quantitative) information about the area under study and that the assessment should cover: a) forest values (direct, indirect and induced), b) shadow values, c) non-market values and d) social values in order to take account of all the ways in which forestry contributes to the rural socio-economy. It also recommends

'A broad-based approach to estimating the various actual and potential contributions of forestry to rural development is thus an essential starting point in guiding decisions about how forestry can better contribute to the rural economy. Toolkits are needed to explore the range of social and economic contributions to throw light on their spatial variability and to give clues as to how the contribution of forest and woodland to the rural economy can be enhanced ..' (p 11).

University of Aberdeen *et al.*, (2002) conclude that, as recent theories about rural development pay more attention to causes of local variations in development

capacities and outcomes, there is *‘a need for social analyses which go beyond the crude statistics of sectoral outputs and employment and look instead at a range of social and cultural factors which mediate development processes’* (p. 10). This was also advocated by Sanderson (1998), who called for analyses of community development to be extended beyond ‘what’ to include ‘why’ and Conley and Moote (2003) who note that, for collaborative resource management evaluation, process and social criteria are at least as important as increased employment and revenues.

This suggests that although progress has been made in measuring non-market benefits, there is a need for further work to develop tools to add depth to the conventional appraisal approach, which is undertaken in this research project.

3.3.2 Assessing forestry policy outcomes

The Scottish Forestry Strategy (2006) is built around a vision, principles, outcomes, objectives and key themes (summarised in Table 2.4). Although the objectives detailed in the Strategy are specific, the Scottish Forestry Strategy Implementation Plan 2007 – 2008 (Forestry Commission Scotland, 2007), which details activities to be taken and how they are to be monitored, is arranged around the seven cross cutting key themes which makes it difficult to monitor outcomes against objectives.

Indicators under the key themes of ‘Community Development’ and ‘Access and Health’ are:

- Number of schools involved in woodland based learning activities;
- Number of community groups involved in owning or managing woodland;
- Number of schools providing vocational courses that include forestry related skills;
- % adults and/or family members who attended an organised learning activity or event linked with Scottish woodlands in the previous 12 months;
- % adults who have heard or read about Scottish woodlands in the previous 12 months;
- Number of land parcels sold or leased under the National Forest Land Scheme;

- Area of parcels sold or leased under the National Forest Land Scheme;
- Independent satisfaction rating of community partnerships on the National Forest Land scheme
- Proportion of population with accessible woodland greater than 2 hectares within 500 metres of their home;
- Proportion of population with accessible woodland greater than 2 hectares within 4 km of their home;
- Proportion of adults who visited woodland in previous 12 months;
- Number of visits to national forests;
- Number and length of Core Paths in woodlands;
- Percentage satisfaction with woodland recreation provision;
- Forests for health indicator;
- Number of formal ‘volunteer days’ associated with woodland activity.

The indicators above are mainly based on outputs rather than outcomes. Outputs are more readily measured and are often a more practical indicator, but do not necessarily reflect policy objectives and desired levels of outcomes. Such indicators either assume a link between output and outcome which needs to be questioned or are rather inadequate measures of policy objectives and their limitations should be made clear.

The Social Policy group in FCS are in the early stages of developing standard indicators to be used in the evaluation of social forestry initiatives which do focus on outcome indicators (Driver, 2007). Indicators tentatively include:

- Perception of quality of life in local community and contribution of woodland,
- Changes in levels of exercise taken,
- Social capital,
- Changes in employability due to acquisition of skills.

Although intended to be a better measure of the ‘success’ of an initiative, these indicators are much more difficult, and costly, to measure.

This research will explore how benefits are delivered and the links between outputs and outcomes and will therefore be of use in developing indicators to use in the assessment of forestry's contribution to some social benefits.

3.4 *The sustainable livelihoods approach*

Having explored ways in which the value of forestry is assessed and how policy outcomes are monitored, this section turns to an approach designed to assist in understanding the context of rural development and designing appropriate rural development programmes.

The sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) is an integrating concept, incorporating social, economic and ecological dimensions (Chambers and Conway, 1992). It is designed to assess situations and guide development interventions and can be used at a variety of scales and levels, from local to national and community to policy. It was adopted by several development agencies in the 1990s, notably DFID's Natural Resources division, FAO, Oxfam, CARE and UNDP; and since then has been widely taken up by smaller development organisations. It 'provides a way to improve identification, appraisal, implementation and evaluation of development programmes' (DFED, 2000 p 5). While remaining flexible in its application it is centred on six core concepts:

- People centred - fully involving people in any analysis and focusing on their resources and impacts on them;
- Holistic - non-sectoral and applicable across geographical areas and groups;
- Dynamic - recognising external trends and shocks and seeking to understand change;
- Building on strengths;
- Macro-micro links;
- Sustainability.

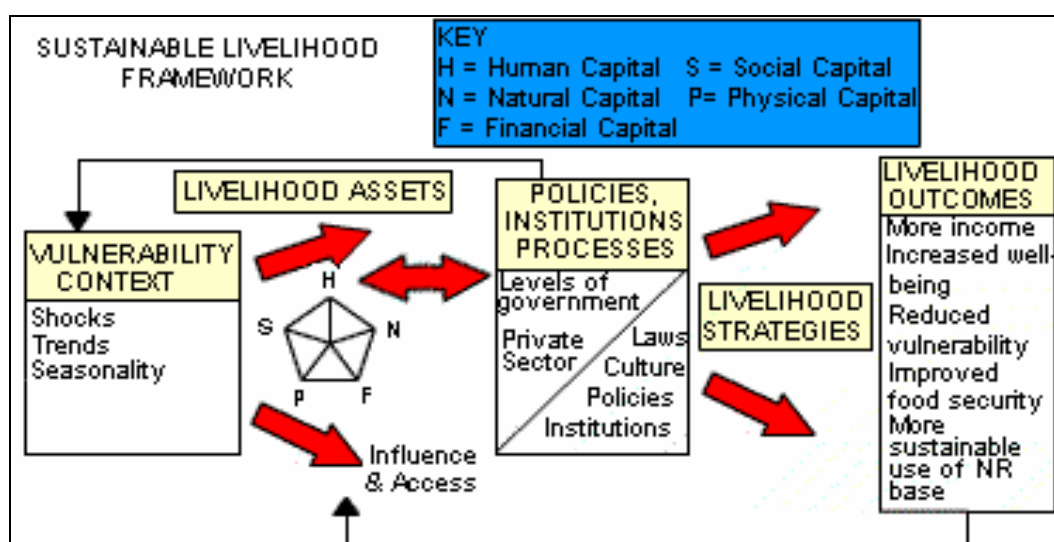


Figure 3.1: The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

Source: Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance sheet no. 1. (www.livelihoods.org/info/guidance_sheets)

3.4.1 Vulnerability context

The ‘vulnerability context’ of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework sets out the exogenous environment and trends and events over which people in the unit of analysis have little or no control. It includes trends (such as population, governance, economic or technological) shocks (such as health or economic) and seasonality (such as prices, employment, production) (DFID, 2000).

3.4.2 Livelihood assets

Livelihood assets, or capital, are one of the main building blocks available to the unit of analysis for development and are a fundamental factor in the process of product delivery. Capital takes several forms and the distribution of different types of capital represents the set of opportunities and constraints that determine what production activities are possible (Bourdieu, 1986).

a) *Human capital.*

Human capital represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health. It is required to make use of the other forms of capital.

b) *Social capital.*

In the context of the livelihood framework, social capital is taken to mean the ‘*social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. These are developed through networks and connectedness ...; membership of more formalised groups ; and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges.*’ (DFID, 2000 p 10).

c) *Natural capital.*

Natural capital is the term used for the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services (e.g. nutrient cycling, erosion protection) are derived. There is a wide variation in the resources that make up natural capital, from intangible public goods such as the atmosphere and biodiversity to divisible assets used directly for production (trees, land, etc.).

d) *Physical capital.*

Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support activities, such as transport, buildings, water supply, energy, communications, tools and equipment.

e) *Financial capital.*

Financial capital is the availability of financial resources, including flows as well as stocks.

3.4.3 Policies, institutions and processes

The policies, institutions and processes box (PIP) is now often referred to ‘transforming structures and processes’. The institutions, organisations, policies and legislation that shape livelihoods operate at all levels, from the household to the international. They effectively determine: access to capital, livelihood strategies and decision making bodies; the terms of exchange between types of capital and returns to any livelihood strategy (DFID, 2000). In a more recent DFID document, this area of the framework is described as embracing a complex range of issues associated

with participation, power, authority, governance, laws, policies, public service delivery, social relations, institutions (laws, markets, land tenure arrangements) and organisations. It contains the macro-micro linkages and the relationships between the state, private sector, civil society and citizens (DFID, 2002).

3.4.4 Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies are the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals, such as production activities, investment strategies, reproductive choices (DFID, 2000).

3.4.5 Livelihood outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are the outputs of livelihood strategies. They may be connected to more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, or the more sustainable use of the natural resource base. Outcomes are not necessarily commensurable and there may be conflicts between outcomes or between recipients of outcomes.

In summary, the Sustainable Livelihood Framework shows people operating in a context of vulnerability, having access to various assets which gain their meaning and value through the prevailing social, institutional and organisational environment. These factors influence the strategies available to people to improve their livelihoods (DFID, 2000); <http://www.livelihoods.org>).

3.4.6 A critique of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Although it has been widely adopted there have been criticisms of the SLA. On the one hand, practitioners have expected it explicitly to include everything relevant in the development process, and it has been criticised for leaving out various concepts. DFID and FAO suggest that there should be more recognition of socio-economic, historical and cultural factors and Biswas (2002) found that it paid inadequate attention to inequality. Bingen (2000) suggests that the framework should broaden institutional analysis to include familial and community structures and Satchwell-Smith (2004) found that power is not adequately addressed. Also, the lack of

attention to peoples' rights has been a criticism and a fusion between rights and the SLA to produce a 'livelihoods rights approach' has been suggested following the premise that rights matter and that the poor must be supported and empowered to claim their rights (Toner, 2002; Satchwell-Smith, 2004).

On the other hand it has been criticised for being too broad and encompassing to be meaningful for understanding key components and processes in specific locations (Farrington *et al.*, 1999; Longley and Maxwell, 2003). It has also been criticised for not providing enough detail on how to use it: DFID and FAO (2000) find it offers no guidance on how to analyse and measure the capital assets or on linking micro-macro levels or policy analysis. Hobley (2001), Marzetti (2002) and DFID (2002) conclude that there needs to be considerably more work to determine the best way to analyse the 'policies, institutions and processes' part of the framework.

More generally, in a summary of experiences by DFID and FAO, it is suggested that the approach is insufficiently flexible and that the overall concept is ethnocentric and not easily translatable (DFID/FAO, 2000). Beall (2002) argues that conceptualising people's assets as different forms of capital, reduces them to neo-classical economic concepts and tells us nothing of the relationship between assets or how they change over time. Toner (2002) argues that participatory methods lead to an appraisal of all relevant elements of the SLA framework and, as such, the SLA is merely an extension of participatory appraisal methods.

The fields of institutional and new institutional economics and the Institutional Analysis and Development Approach are also relevant to development processes. North (1990) has developed an analytical framework for understanding the role of institutions in economic development. Institutions are defined to include any form of constraint that human beings devise to shape human interaction. They may be either formal, such as rules, or informal, such as conventions or norms of behaviour. They may be created or evolve over time and are the framework within which human interaction takes place. The major role of institutions in a society is to reduce uncertainty by establishing a stable structure to human interaction. North (1990)

pays particular attention to the transaction costs involved in trade and the need for an institutional environment that reduces or minimises transaction costs. He identifies path dependency, the history of the development of an institution as being of importance and, in relation to this, power.

In considering how institutions are formed or changed, Morrison *et al.* (2000) suggest that we should look to how and by whom institutions are created. It is usually those in power who are responsible for creating institutions and changes tend to be incremental and influenced by existing or preceding institutions. The fact that institutions interrelate, that they are often embedded in 'higher level' institutions and that an analysis needs to consider the multiplicity of institutions and their interrelations is highlighted by Leach *et al.*, (1999).

Morrison *et al.* (2000) highlight some of the contributions that New Institutional Economics (NIE) can make to the SLA. They suggest how institutional arrangements can be viewed as supporting asset exchange between transacting parties and asset coordination between those holding or buying or selling similar assets. Under asset exchange, transactions range from 'spot transactions', the impersonal free market ideal, to non-market transactions, embedded in personalised, social or organisational relations. Asset coordination is beneficial where people obtain relatively small individual gains from holding, buying or selling assets, due to low unit value or small scale activity, and the associated transaction costs have a high fixed cost element incurred irrespective of the scale of the holding transaction. Savings can then be made in the cost of holding or exchanging an asset if the scale can be increased through coordination or consolidation.

NIE emphasises the importance of access to assets which depend on institutional arrangements, information flows, asset characteristics and the vulnerability/power of different actors. The physical and economic characteristics of assets should not be examined without reference to the institutional arrangements which constrain or promote their use. Likewise the value of physical and natural assets can be better understood through an understanding of how different institutional arrangements can

affect asset values to different users. Leach *et al.* (1999) make a similar distinction. They develop a framework which '*seeks to elucidate how ecological and social dynamics influence the natural resource management activities of diverse groups of people, and how these activities in turn help to produce and to shape particular kinds of environment.*' (Leach *et al.*, 1999 p 226). They make a distinction between rights and resources and the ability to derive wellbeing from them. Analysis concentrates on the effect of micro, meso and macro level institutions on this process.

The Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) approach was developed by Elinor Ostrom and colleagues in the early 1980s as a multidisciplinary tool to frame policy research (Ostrom, 1999). It breaks down transaction costs into information costs, coordination costs and strategic costs. Information costs occur as a result of searching for and organising information. They also include the cost of errors resulting from an ineffective blend of information. Coordination costs are the sum of the costs invested in negotiating, monitoring and enforcing agreements. Strategic costs result from asymmetries in information, power or other resources such that some obtain benefits at the expense of others (Imperial, 1999). Similarly to the SLA framework, the IAD approach draws attention to the contextual conditions, including physical and material conditions and also to 'attributes of community' (culture), which affect how institutions are designed and operate, also highlighted by Cochrane (Cochrane, 2006).

The IAD framework is used for evaluation in a different way to the SLA and suggests examining overall performance using four criteria. It suggests that the effect of institutions on outcomes should include an evaluation of efficiency and equity and other criteria, such as accountability and adaptability (Ostrom, 1998). Efficiency can be viewed from two perspectives. Firstly what effect does the institutional arrangement have on wealth generation or productivity. Secondly, its effect on administrative efficiency and the costs of administering the regulatory framework. Equity also has two aspects. Firstly, in terms of 'fiscal equivalence' those that benefit from a service should bear the brunt of the associated costs. Secondly, redistributive equity concerns differential abilities to pay. Adaptability

assesses the ability of institutional arrangements to adapt to changing environments and accountability refers to the need for sanctions or other mechanisms to hold organisations or individuals to account (Imperial, 1999).

3.5 Summary and justification for the study

Drawing together key findings of the literature review leads to a justification of the objectives of this study. It has already been noted (2.8) that an exploration into stakeholder perceptions on forestry's role in rural development and the governance and potential benefits derived from community involvement would be valuable. Additionally, there are several indications regarding the limitations of existing research and approaches. The Scottish Forestry Strategy 2006 calls for research into ways to secure maximum benefits from woods near communities. A recent comprehensive study of forestry and rural development (Slee *et al.*, 2004) calls for more work to explore social benefits. With recent theories about rural development paying more attention to causes of local variations in development capacities and outcomes, University of Aberdeen *et al.* (2002) suggest a need for social analysis which looks at social and cultural factors which mediate the development processes. An examination of the SLA and related literature provided insight into various analytical perspectives which could do this. The aim of this study was hitherto set to explore the process of forestry and rural development and the social benefits of community involvement in woodlands, paying particular attention to how they are generated and delivered. This study also seeks to develop an approach that encompasses an analysis of factors important in that development process.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH APPROACHES AND METHODS

4.1 Introduction

As demonstrated by the literature review in Chapter 3, an interdisciplinary approach is needed to evaluate more effectively the social and cultural factors that are relevant to community involvement in woodlands.

An interdisciplinary approach is one where some of the concepts and insights of one discipline contribute to the problems and theories of another (Boden, 1999) or where two or more disciplines are combined to produce an outcome that is more than the simple sum of the parts (Laver *et al.*, 1997).

Being fundamentally concerned with the allocation of resources to maximise benefits, this research project could be said to be economic in nature. However, its exploratory approach and use of qualitative data draw on disciplines outwith mainstream economics. There are several ‘sub-disciplines’ such as institutional economics, economic sociology and ecological economics which, questioning the assumptions made in the neo-classical tradition and the resulting validity of the methods, try to encompass a broader approach to economic enquiry, to make allowances for the effects of social and cultural factors in human behaviour and the constraints of ecosystem tolerance. This project is relevant to institutional and ecological economics and is interdisciplinary in nature drawing also on development studies.

4.2 Selection and characteristics of the research area

There were four main criteria in selection of the research area:

1. Collaboration and interest from local stakeholders;
2. A mixed forest resource in terms of type and ownership/management. In order to fully explore the research objective it was felt to be necessary to explore a range of types of forestry in terms of composition and ownership/management structures and objectives;
3. Forestry Commission Scotland interests in this area;

4. A number of community involvement initiatives of different ages and with various governance structures.

The Scottish Borders met these criteria and was selected as the study area.

4.2.1 The natural environment and the forestry sector

The physical and ecological nature of the Scottish Borders is detailed in the Local Biodiversity Action Plan (Scottish Borders Council, undated). The Scottish Borders is mainly defined by the natural catchment of the River Tweed and its tributaries, comprising over 4,500 square km, of which almost half lies above 300 m. A wide range in rainfall from the very wet west to the dry east, marks the region's climate which combined with the varying soil types and land-uses produces a wide range of semi natural vegetation. Virtually all the region's landscapes are the product of the intimate relationship between man and natural resources and throughout history, land management practices have fluctuated with climatic, social and economic cycles. Climate change led to the development of blanket peat and large areas of fen and marshland which, although they marked the landscape until the mid-eighteenth century are now greatly reduced by drainage. Upland heath has been managed for shooting for over 100 years and the retention of some nationally important areas of this habitat is due to this practice. Similarly, the management of small woodlands and hedgerows in the lowlands for sport, shelter and stock management, began in the eighteenth century. This introduced a network of habitats into the landscape that enhanced those of the mixed farm landscape. However, changing farming practices of the past fifty years has led to a dramatic simplification and decline in the quality of this network of farmland habitats.

The Scottish Border Woodland Strategy provides background information on the forestry sector (Scottish Borders Council, 2005). The Scottish Borders forms part of the much larger and strategically important 'South Scotland and Northern England' forest area. This includes neighbouring forests of Dumfries and Galloway to the west and Kielder Forest in Northumberland. The total area of trees and woodland in the Scottish Borders is 87,435 ha, 18.5% of the land area. Approximately 77% is

conifers, 7% broadleaves and 4% mixed woodland. In 1995, there were an estimated 2,750 individual woodland blocks greater than 2 ha in size (Forestry Commission, 1999). However, 3% of these blocks account for nearly 80% of the total woodland cover, the majority comprising small woodlands of less than 100ha. The pattern of woodland cover can be divided into two with the western and southern parts of the region characterised by large commercial plantations and the eastern parts characterised by hundreds of scattered small woodlands within high quality agricultural land. The proportions of broadleaf and conifer are similar to the rest of Scotland, with the intensive post-war afforestation programme accounting for the large proportion of conifers. Soil and climate in the Borders offer some of the most favourable growing conditions for commercial conifer crops in Britain, although a high proportion of the plantations are located on the upland soils in the west of the Region where there are inherent constraints related to drainage and wind.

It is estimated that only 1.4% of the total woodland area comprises remnants of ancient and semi-natural woodland. They are generally small in size, frequently associated with steep inaccessible slopes along water courses and many are degraded. The region has 20% of the species rich hedgerows in Scotland which require careful conservation and there are a large variety of ancient trees with unique links to the cultural heritage. Policy woodlands which, though they are of less importance ecologically than ancient woodlands and have a large component of introduced species, form an important link in the landscape and provide valuable habitats for some rare and uncommon species.

One third of the region's woodland area is part of the public forest estate, managed by Forestry Commission Scotland. Part of this is the Tweed Valley Forest Park, managed for amenity with a number of interesting initiatives. Forty three percent is privately owned with four traditional estates managing significant areas of woodland, Buccleuch, Roxburghe, Rosebery and Lothian Estates. Investment forestry accounts for 24% of the woodland area and charitable organisations own 2%. As in other areas of Scotland, there has been an expansion of projects in the Scottish Borders aimed at increasing local community involvement in forests and woodlands over the

past decade. The Borders, home to the Borders Forest Trust and the first community woodland in Scotland, has a well developed community woodland movement, with over 20 community woodlands and a variety of ownership/management arrangements.

4.2.2 Economic background

The primary industries of farming, forestry, fishing and mineral extraction form the main land uses in the Scottish Borders and their operations have a significant impact on the countryside. These industries have an important role to play in providing rural employment. Employment in primary industries remains higher than the Scottish average, but is falling as the industries change and diversify and as jobs in the service industries increase (Scottish Borders Council, 2002). Employment in manufacturing, services and commerce forms an increasingly important part of the economy. The loss of manufacturing jobs in the area, particularly textiles, has been significant during the 1990s and into the 2000s, reflecting structural change at the national level. However, new opportunities are emerging, in electronics, food processing, telephone-based services and research-based facilities (Scottish Borders Council, 2002). Tourism is an important sector of the Scottish Borders economy and it is thought to have the potential for significant growth, building on the high quality natural and built environment, an interesting history and a location near large population centres.

4.2.3 Social background

Southern Scotland² has the highest proportion of people over the age of 60 in Scotland and the lowest portion in the 16 – 24 yrs age bracket. Twenty nine percent of the population is retired, compared to an average for Scotland of 24% (Scottish Executive, 2001). For health indicators the Scottish Borders rates considerably worse than the Scottish average for alcohol related, long-term and self-assessed illness. It also compares unfavourably regarding prescriptions for anti-depressants and cardiovascular related conditions, with 5% and 12% more prescriptions than the Scottish average respectively (NHS Scotland, 2004). On the other hand, levels of

² Southern Scotland includes the Scottish Borders and Dumfries and Galloway

education are relatively good in terms of Highers gained and school leavers going on to further education (NHS Scotland, 2004). Levels of involvement in local communities are relatively high compared to the Scottish average, with 7% with a 'great deal' of involvement and 30% 'a fair amount' of involvement (Scottish Executive, 2001). Voter turnout is also higher than average (NHS Scotland, 2004). Incomes are roughly in line with the Scottish average, although a higher proportion fall into the £15 – 20,000 bracket and a lower proportion fall into the £20,000 plus bracket in Southern Scotland. Southern Scotland is seen as a nice place to live, with 62% rating their neighbourhood as 'very good', compared to a Scottish average of 51% (Scottish Executive, 2001). Crime rates are also well below the Scottish average for all types of crime (NHS Scotland, 2004).

4.3 Scoping phase: A stakeholder survey

The scoping phase of this project aimed to gain an understanding of the forestry sector in the Scottish Borders and how it operates, to inform the methodological development and the case-study-based analysis of community involvement.

4.3.1 Approach

The Scoping Phase developed an overview of forestry in the Scottish Borders through a stakeholder survey. A discrete geographical area was chosen to enable the study to explore links and synergies that exist between players and how the sector interacts with the local socio-economy. Information was collected both from individuals directly involved in management of woodlands and from people from organisations who have a strong interest in forestry in order to gain a range of opinions on the forestry sector both from those involved in day to day operations and those seeking to support elements of the sector. Woodland managers came from public, private and community woodlands. Other organisations (see Table 4.1) included those with an interest in the economic, environmental and social aspects of forestry as well as overall forest policy. The local authority was included as it was envisaged that they would have a holistic view of the area and a broad perspective on the role of forestry. The Borders Forest Trust and Woodschool were interviewed as

they represent progressive organisations at the forefront of the community woodland movement and in promoting the conservation and use of native tree species. Bow Hill estate was approached, representing a traditional mixed estate with farmland and forestry. The community woods interviewed were suggested by the Borders Forest Trust to represent a range of initiatives and the District Forestry Commission office was included as the manager of the public estate in the Borders. Representatives from Scottish Enterprise and the Tourist Board were selected as interviewees due to their interest in the economic aspects of the forestry sector and how the forestry sector can support tourism, one of the sectors thought to have considerable potential in the Borders.

Table 4.1. Scoping phase interviewees

Type*	Organisation	Abbreviation used
b	Scottish Borders Council	SBC
a b	Borders Forest Trust	BFTa and BFTb
a	Bow Hill Estate	BE
a	Darnick Community Wood	DCW
a	Eshields Community Wood	ECW
a	Forestry Commission Scotland Borders District	FCS BD
b	Forestry Commission Scotland: South Scotland Conservancy	FCS SSC
a	Lindean Community Wood	LCW
b	Scottish Enterprise Forest Industries Cluster	SE
b	Scottish Borders Tourist Board	SBTB
b	Woodschool	W

* Type a – directly involved in woodland management; type b – forestry sector involvement.

4.3.2 Data collection

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect information for the Scoping Phase between August and November 2004. In semi-structured interviews, questions are specified but the interviewer remains free to probe and seek clarification and elaboration. Respondents are allowed to answer questions more on their own terms than in a standardised interview, but the set questions still provide a structure for comparability (May, 1997).

Hall and Hall (1996) state that the interview setting has a notable effect on the information given. Interviews were held at the offices or homes of interviewees, so as to be in a comfortable and familiar environment for them. All were prearranged, with the approximate length of the interview being specified to reduce the likelihood of interruptions. Where possible, a visit to the relevant woodland was included. Interviews were designed to last about 1 hour so as not to demand too much from interviewees who were generally giving up time in busy working schedules. Interviews were recorded and notes taken for back-up and also to record any additional observations or items on which to follow up. Robson (2002) recommends recording interviews: '*the tape provides a permanent record and allows you to concentrate on the interview.*' (p 289).

The interview design followed recommendations in literature. Rubin (1995) stresses the importance of a friendly and informal initial greeting to create a natural environment. The introduction also established the context of the interview and covered ethical issues such as confidentiality. Before starting each interview, I outlined the study and its aims; the way in which the information from the interview would be used; the topics covered by the interview and asked permission to record the interview. The interviews were structured with an opening descriptive question, what Kvale (1996) terms an 'introducing question' being purposefully open, descriptive, easy and non-threatening. May (2001) emphasises the value of this in establishing rapport. The first questions were chosen to be easy for the interviewee to answer and intended to make the interviewee comfortable in the interview setting. It was also anticipated that they would lead the interviewee into the main subject area of the interview, and provide some background information and context to aid the interviewer in understanding the remainder of the interview responses.

Mason (1996) suggests the following steps in planning the main questions for an interview:

- Assemble the big research questions that the study will explore;
- Sub-divide it into smaller questions;

- For each question, develop ideas about how to elicit relevant information in an interview situation;
- Develop the structure.

Kvale (1996) suggests questions should be constructed to contribute thematically to knowledge and dynamically to promote a good interview interaction. This was achieved by including a mixture of descriptive and more challenging questions, with what, why and how questions. The phrasing, wording and length of questions were considered, as was where questions might lead and which leads to follow and where probes or follow-up questions might be of particular use. The overall coherence and flow was also considered (Rubin, 1995) and the questions were ordered to follow on from each other naturally. The interview was closed by asking the respondent if they had any questions, ensuring they had a contact number should they wish to get in touch and thanking them for their time and contribution. Care was taken to show interest throughout the interview to make the interviewee aware that their views and experiences were of importance.

The interview protocol varied slightly depending whether the interviewee was directly involved in the management of a wood (Type a in Table 4.1), or came from an organisation with other involvement in the forestry sector (Type b in Table 4.1). The protocols are included in annex 1.

4.3.3 Data analysis

I transcribed the interviews which is a useful part of the overall analysis process (May, 2001). The interview transcripts were read repeatedly in order to draw out common themes and identify links and patterns. The three stage process suggested by Dey (1993) was used to organise and analyse data.

1. Describing: producing thorough or ‘thick’ descriptions of the phenomena being studied, which includes the context of the action, the intention of the actors and the processes through which actions occur. This was done by summarising individual interviews from the transcripts and making additional notes.

2. **Classifying:** creating categories and assigning the data to the different categories which are then subdivided and subsumed according to themes emerging and overlapping. As Blaikie (2000) points out, classification is not a neutral process – the researcher has a purpose in mind which provides direction and boundaries. In this study, classification was initially guided by the interview questions but, as the process progressed, led to additional categories and some amalgamation.
3. **Connecting:** making connections between the categories with the aim to discover regularities, variations and singularities. A diagram was used to develop this part of the analysis.

The outcome of the stakeholder survey was a descriptive analysis with various sections relating to the categories created and with reference to links, patterns and singularities observed.

4.4 Phase II: Case studies

Phase II investigates the social benefits of community involvement. It was designed drawing on information from the scoping phase.

A number of approaches could be used to explore the effects of community involvement on social benefits. Firstly one could study communities before and after they became involved in a local woodland. The main disadvantage of this approach is the time needed for the study and the possibility of other variables changing which may affect the benefits being studied. Secondly, communities who have involvement in a local wood could be compared to communities that have a local wood, but don't have involvement in it. Again, there are many variables additional to community involvement that may have a significant impact on the extent to which social benefits are derived from the woodlands, such as proximity and access to the wood. Lastly communities with involvement in a local wood could be studied and people asked to recall the benefits they have derived since they became involved in that wood. The main disadvantage of this approach is that one is relying on people's memory and,

depending on the time-frame over which people are asked to recall, it can mean that responses are inaccurate or biased.

For each of these three approaches, studies could range from broad surveys using questionnaires, to in-depth explorations of a single or few cases using methods such as ethnography or participant observation. The main disadvantage of surveys is that response rates are often low, and results lack background and contextual information. The main disadvantage of the more focused approach is the difficulty in making generalisations from the findings. Although the use of a number of cases may make findings more convincing it is extremely difficult to establish the comparability of cases as each case has too many unique aspects.

The time needed made the first approach unfeasible for this study and the difficulty of controlling for other variables made the second approach impractical. The third approach, although relying on people's memories, was considered the best for this study. A broad survey was not considered suitable, due to the weaknesses mentioned and so, despite the disadvantages acknowledged, a case study approach was considered to be the most suitable given the resources available.

The case studies focused on 4 initiatives in the Scottish Borders. The case study approach largely follows the work of Yin (1994) who suggests it as a method to research '*a contemporary phenomenon with-in its real-life context*' (p 13). It is somewhat confusing to describe the case study approach as a 'method' as within the case study approach a number of different methods of data collection are possible. Case studies are rather a sampling strategy, focussing on 'units of analysis' instead of populations.

The main criticism of the case study approach is a lack of sampling strategy, or how you identify your case (Platt, 1988). In particular there is a need to take great care in making any generalisations from findings of a case study to a wider population. As Blaikie elaborates:

‘As all cases necessarily occur in a specific context, the common and unique features of that context need to be acknowledged. Researchers need to give readers a sufficient account of the context to enable them to evaluate the conclusions drawn. However, detailed knowledge of the context is also an important element in the researchers’ capacity to draw conclusions from a case study’ (Blaikie, 2000 p 224).

The choice of cases was based on the following criteria:

- A degree of involvement by local people in the management or running of the woodland initiative,
- Different structures in terms of ownership/management and involvement,
- Interest and agreement from the groups involved.

The following initiatives were chosen as the four cases:

- Gordon Community Wood: community owned and managed.
- Glenkinnon Community Wood: FC owned, leased by BFT, managed jointly by FC and BFT with community involvement.
- Wooplaw Community Wood: community owned and managed and long-standing initiative.
- The Osprey Volunteer Project: partnership project in the Tweed Valley Forest Park between FC, RSPB and Kailzie Gardens with assistance from a group of volunteers.

Bearing in mind this project’s interest in the extent to which social benefits result from community involvement, there is a need to try to isolate the additionality of the community involvement from the ‘non-community involvement’ status of the woodland which varies from wood to wood. Some woods were created, or partially created, by community groups and so would not be present in the absence of community involvement, others existed but in a very unmanaged state (such as Glenkinnon) and some were already being managed as multi-purpose woodlands (such as the Tweed Valley Forest Park).

4.4.1 Data sources

Information was collected from:

1. The relevant people in partner organisations where they existed.
2. The secretary or key person for each initiative where they existed.
3. Members of the woodland group or those more closely involved in the initiative.
4. Where there was a discrete local community, members of that wider community.

Table 4.2. Case study interviewees and respondents

<i>Relevant partner organisations</i>	
Initiative	Partner organisation
Gordon Community Wood	Borders Forest Trust
Glenkinnon Community Wood	Borders Forest Trust
Wooplaw Community Wood	Borders Forest Trust
The Osprey Volunteer Project	Forestry Commission and RSPB
<i>Key person for each initiative.</i>	
Initiative	Key person
Gordon Community Wood	Woodland group secretary
Glenkinnon Community Wood	Borders forest trust (as no formal community group)
Wooplaw Community Wood	Woodland group secretary
The Osprey Volunteer Project	No formal group or group representative
<i>Members of the woodland group or those more closely involved in the initiative</i>	
Initiative	People targeted
Gordon Community Wood	8 committee members
Glenkinnon Community Wood	8 people identified by BFT as being involved
Wooplaw Community Wood	7 wardens
Osprey volunteer project	30 volunteers
Total	58
<i>The local community</i>	
Initiative	Local community
Gordon Community Wood	29 (6 at a coffee morning)
Glenkinnon Community Wood	13
Wooplaw Community Wood	No discrete local community
Osprey volunteer project	No discrete local community
Total	42

Note that coffee morning interviewees may be less likely to be representative of the wider community, being the more active members of the community.

The nature of the initiatives and the presence or otherwise of a discrete local community affects the comparability of the case studies. Respondents from Gordon and Glenkinnon were a mixture of targeted respondents and the wider community whereas those from Wooplaw and the Osprey project were all targeted.

Comparisons will be drawn in three ways. Gordon and Glenkinnon are both community woodlands with adjacent communities. Interviews were carried out with (or questionnaires filled in by) targeted involved respondents and the wider community. This allows, firstly, comparisons between Gordon and Glenkinnon and, secondly, comparisons between the involved elements of both woodlands with the wider respondent sets. Thirdly, given that all respondents from Wooplaw and the Osprey project were 'targeted/involved' they can similarly be compared to the portion of the Gordon and Glenkinnon respondents who were targeted/involved.

4.4.2 Data collection

There is limited information available regarding research tools that recent studies have used to assess social benefits from woodlands. Slee *et al.* (2004), following the toolkit described in University of Aberdeen *et al.* (2002), used focus groups and follow up interviews with local households to assess social capital building, identity and sense of belonging and social entrepreneurship. Other studies assessing identity and sense of belonging used a variety of methods. Hunter *et al.* (2002) used focus groups, which included ranking tasks and individual questionnaires. On the other hand, Bishop *et al.* (2002) used focussed discussion with local community groups, in-depth interviews with local residents and ethnographic research in the study communities. In general these studies enabled the authors to comment on the existence of the benefits being explored, but not on the extent to which they were experienced or by whom, and whether it was only by those most closely involved in the initiatives or also the wider community.

Questionnaires have been used extensively to gauge social capital, and the ONS question set and SCAT assessment tool were reviewed in order to design questions to assess elements of social capital. In addition the questionnaire available in the Appraisal Manual developed by University of Aberdeen *et al.* (2002) which was used to gather information for some of the social analysis was consulted.

The following characteristics of this study were important in choosing the methods of data collection.

- It was important to gather information from the local community (where a discrete local community existed) and not only those involved in the initiatives. These people may be less inclined to come to group discussions or take part in lengthy interviews (Moser and Kalton, 1983);
- The study was interested in the extent that individuals felt they had benefited from the presence of the woodland initiatives;
- Structured responses were needed to enable comparisons between initiatives and user groups.

Semi-structured interviews were supplemented by postal questionnaires, using the same question set as that of the interviews. Face to face interviews gave more qualitative information to add depth and understanding to the questionnaire survey findings. The postal questionnaires were a more time efficient mechanism to add to the sample size and increase confidence in the findings of the study.

The sampling strategy for the surveys associated with each case study can be described as 'purposive sampling'. As Robson (2002) observes '*small-scale surveys commonly employ non-probability samples. They are usually less complicated to set up and are acceptable when there is no intention or need to make a statistical generalisation to any population beyond the sample surveyed.*' (p 264). Blaikie suggests that qualified generalisations are possible: '*even when non-probability samples are used they can be selected in such a way that it is possible to make a judgement about the extent to which they represent some population or group*' (Blaikie, 2000 p 203). The principle of selection in purposive sampling is the

researcher's judgement as to typicality or interest. A sample is built up which enables the researcher to satisfy their specific needs (Robson, 2002).

Interviewees from partner groups, key contacts and people involved in initiatives were easily identified from existing contacts. Interviewees / respondents were selected to achieve a geographical spread and to obtain a range of respondents according to distance from the wood and area of the 'community'. Respondents were identified as follows:

- Minimum of 10 responses per initiative
- Approaching every nth house in the village/community where $n = \text{number of households}/10$
- Where there was no answer at a house, going to $n+1$.
- Where there was no answer at $n+1$, leaving a questionnaire to be returned by post.

Forty nine interviews were carried out and 52 questionnaires were returned by post. Response rate from the posted questionnaires was 84%.

Direct observation was also used. I visited each site and attended several events:

- Glenkinnon: biodiversity walk
- Wooplaw: AGM, biodiversity walk, green wood working day.
- Osprey project: Osprey viewing centres at Glentress and Kailzie gardens.

The questionnaires in phase II were designed to elicit information on the extent to which the community initiatives were delivering social benefits and some of the factors important in that process. The modified SLA provided a guide to the questions to be asked. The scoping phase and literature review provided some information relevant to all the boxes in the modified SLA framework. Three different question sets were developed. One for members of the communities, one for the secretary or a key person associated with each initiative and one for the relevant person in BFT, the main partner organisation. It was also important that the

questionnaires were not too lengthy, which limited the number of questions which could be asked.

BFT questions.

The person responsible for community woodlands at the Borders Forest Trust was interviewed, as the main partner organisation to the three community woodlands. Many of the questions related to the 'Transforming structures' box in the modified SLA. They were asked about the origin and structure of BFT, the history of their involvement in the community woodland movement and how they interact with other organisations with regard to the community woods. They were asked about their role with regard to the community woodlands and how they access various resources to fulfil this role and limitations to this. This information is also relevant to the 'Assets' box of the modified SLA. Additionally they were asked specifically about their own funding and who they felt should fund their involvement in community woodlands.

To further explore the link between BFT and the community woods, and how that had affected BFT in term of capacity, they were asked if and how working with the community projects had influenced BFT in terms of the way it works and whether it had resulted in useful contacts or further projects. This information was relevant to processes, but also to benefits in terms of indications of networks established and linking social capital. They were also asked specifically about training BFT had provided to the community to provide additional triangulating information about the knowledge and skills that might have been acquired by the community members.

Of relevance to the process of development, BFT were asked about what they felt to be the advantages/disadvantages of community involvement, their perspective on change in use of the wood and if community involvement had encouraged new or different use of the wood. They were also asked about levels of enthusiasm in the community, whether these had changed and what they felt affected them. This provided background information on participation, one of the outputs in the modified SLA and factors (Vulnerability context, Assets, Transforming structures) which affected it.

The scoping phase established that BFT facilitated links with various organisations, some of which catered for excluded groups. To determine how social inclusion may be enhanced, they were asked if and how they facilitated social inclusion.

Key person questions.

Key individuals to each initiative were asked questions for background information relating to factors identified in the modified SLA. To help ascertain levels of assets in the community and area, a map was requested and discussed and they were asked about the nature of the community and other community projects. They were also asked how the woodland group accesses various resources. They were asked about the history of the development of the community woodland, how it had come about and who had been involved; levels of participation and enthusiasm in the community. The study needed to know about the previous use of the woodland area to ascertain additionality of the change in management/ownership. They were also asked about membership and relationships with other organisations and objectives, activities, attendance at organised activities and what they perceived to be the main outputs and beneficiary groups; and they were asked whether beneficiary groups had changed as a result of the woodland becoming a community wood and whether it had resulted in any other community projects.

Community member questions.

Most questions to the community members sought to ascertain whether the social benefits being explored were being experienced (outcomes in the modified SLA) with some additional questions to add to the ‘picture’ of community ‘assets’, ‘transforming structures’ and the ‘output’ components of the modified SLA.

Respondents were asked how long they had lived in the area to build up a picture of the community and make tentative suggestions about levels of social capital (Putman, (2000) suggests newer communities have lower levels of social capital). Several questions sought to give some indication about existing ‘wood culture’ –

awareness of and interest in the wood, levels and types of use of the wood and the use of woodland products.

Of relevance to the process of development (assets and/or transforming structures), respondents were asked if and how they knew about the community woodland initiative and whether, and in what aspects, they were interested.

Exploring 'Outputs' and the link to 'Outcomes' or benefits, respondents were asked how often they visit the wood and for what reasons; whether their use had changed since it became a community wood; and whether they go to work days and events and in what way they benefit from them. Those involved were asked when and why they had become involved in the wood.

As a general background question, respondents were asked for three words or phrases that described the wood and their association with it. This information gave some feeling for the context of social benefits being explored.

Specific questions were asked to gauge levels of the social benefits being explored. Questions to ascertain whether levels of social capital had changed as a result of the wood were asked: whether respondents had made friends or contacts and what contact had been used for. Questions sought to establish whether bonding, bridging or linking social capital had been formed and whether it had been used. Questions were also asked to establish whether levels of trust in individuals or organisations had changed. Contextual questions were asked about whether generally respondents used the wood alone or with others and how it compared to other community resources in terms of bringing people together.

Respondents were asked whether they had acquired knowledge and skills as a result of the woodland initiatives, about the area of skill or knowledge, how it had been acquired and whether it had been used/what it had been used for.

To explore people's connection to the wood and whether it had changed their sense of belonging, questions were asked about whether respondents had products from the wood and what they were, if there had been significant occasions that they remembered and what they were, and how much they talked about the wood. They were also asked if they feel differently about the area since it had become a community wood and whether the community input made them feel differently about the wood.

In order to explore whether the woodland initiatives had affected levels of cultural capital, respondents were asked whether, as a result of the community wood initiative, their attitudes or values or behaviour or regular practices had changed.

The following checklist was used in structuring the questionnaire (de Vaus, 2002):

- Is the language simple?
- Can the question be shortened?
- Is the question double barrelled, containing more than one question?
- Is the question leading?
- Is the question negative?
- Is the respondent likely to have the necessary knowledge?
- Will the words have the same meaning to everyone?
- Is the frame of reference for the question clear?
- Is the question wording unnecessarily detailed or objectional?
- Does the question artificially create opinions through not having a 'don't know' response option?

Additionally I had the following attributes in mind when designing the questionnaire:

- To limit the length of interviews to less than 1 hour.
- To include a mixture of closed and open questions. The advantage of closed questions is that they are easier to code and therefore quicker to analyse. They are quick for the respondent and do not discriminate against the less articulate or talkative respondent. The disadvantage is that they can create false opinion, though insufficient response categories. Open questions were

included so that respondents could qualify or provide reasons for their responses.

- To try to encourage respondents to elaborate on responses through giving the option to expand on any points.
- To ensure that response alternatives provide a sufficient range so that all interviewees have an appropriate alternative for their response and that response categories are mutually exclusive.
- Leaving plenty of space in the questionnaire.
- Using filters to lead respondents to relevant sections.
- Ordering questions – going from easy to more difficult, concrete to more abstract, and grouping questions into sections.

I piloted the questionnaire on two individuals who live in a village with a community wood which was not involved in this study.

Interviews with the partner organisations, secretaries or key people involved in each initiative and those more closely involved in the initiatives were expected to be ‘richer’ in information and these were tape recorded. I carried out the interviews between May and July 2005.

4.4.3 Data analysis

Responses to closed questions were classified at the questionnaire design phase according to the options for responses available.

I classified responses to open questions from the answers given. Following recommendations by de Vaus (2002), I assigned broad headings on an initial examination of a portion of the questionnaires. Having done this, I placed the more specific responses under the broad headings and gave them specific codes. The categorisation process aimed to maintain as much specificity within each category, but to limit the number of categories to a manageable number and to generally have at least a few responses in each category. Most open ended questions had multiple answers and these were treated using the ‘multiple response approach’ whereby the

number of variables created is dictated by the response with the largest number of answers (see de Vause 2002 p 155).

I entered the following information into a code book:

- The question;
- The variable name to use in SPSS;
- Type of data;
- The relevant column numbers for that variable;
- The codes used for each response;
- Missing data codes;
- Additional notes.

The database was analysed with SPSS. Frequencies and distributions were recorded and these, combined with the relevant qualitative data were used to draw up explanations regarding the routes to, or causes of, the various benefits. Where appropriate these hypothesised associations were tested statistically using chi-square. The chi-square test for independence is used to determine whether two categorical variables are related. It compares the frequency of cases found in the various categories of one variable across the different categories of another variable (Pallant, 2004 p 287). The chi-square test works on the 'expected count' and variations in that and has a 'minimum expected count' to be considered valid. Because the samples were relatively small at times I needed to combine categories and recode variables to increase the 'expected count' and improve the statistical validity of comparisons.

Some of the open questions, generally those where respondents were invited to expand on previous closed questions had low response rates. These were not coded or analysed with SPSS but instead used to add explanation and depth to the analysis. In addition, all the responses from the open questions were reviewed to look for additional insight that they might offer and used in the qualitative analysis.

As mentioned, one of the main criticisms of case studies is the difficulty in drawing generalisations. To ensure that the case study is as robust as possible, Yin (Yin,

1994) stresses paying attention to the four standard tests to judge the quality of research design:

- Construct validity: establishing correct operational measure for the concepts being studied;
- Internal validity (for explanatory or causal studies only): establishing a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are shown to lead to other conditions, as distinguished from spurious relationships;
- External validity: establishing the domain to which a study's findings can be generalised;
- Reliability: demonstrating that the operations of a study, such as the data collection procedures, can be repeated, with the same results (in the same place).

Every effort was made to design the research with these points in mind. Interview and questionnaire questions were carefully designed to elicit the information being sought and piloted to test that they did so. Some might consider it more appropriate to use group interviews or discussions to explore social benefits, but in order to distinguish this study from previous studies in this area, I wanted to add a quantitative element to the data and ensure I talked to as wide a cross section of the relevant communities as possible. Where sample sizes allowed I followed up speculative hypotheses, developed through analysis of the qualitative information, with statistical tests to satisfy the 'internal validity test'. In terms of external validity, the levels of social benefits found are not generalisable, but the study findings regarding the processes by which benefits are generated are relevant UK wide. In terms of reliability, I was aware of the interviewer's role and the effect that the interviewer may be having on the interviewee. Characteristics such as age, sex, ethnicity and accent can affect the information elicited (May, 2001). I was aware that being English could potentially affect the readiness of some interviewees to engage in the interview, and was careful to generate a comfortable environment before the interviews began.

CHAPTER 5: THE STAKEHOLDER SURVEY – A SCOPING PHASE

5.1 Introduction

The scoping phase, using a stakeholder survey, aimed to gain an understanding of the forestry sector in the Borders and how it operates. What are the perspectives of the various stakeholders? What benefits does forestry deliver and how does it do it? What mechanisms and instruments are involved and what are the ‘building materials’ with which they interact? What are the different land ownership and management structures and how do they work?

A discrete geographical area was chosen to reveal the linkages, synergies and range of governance and institutional arrangements that work along side each other. This chapter presents the results of the stakeholder survey, providing background information on the organisations and initiatives interviewed; visions of the interviewees and their reasons for working or being involved in forestry, information relating to governance, management and outputs of forestry in the Borders; and opportunities and constraints to forestry and its contribution to rural development. It then goes on to discuss some of the themes emerging such as stakeholder perspectives, linkages and conflicts and governance before considering the findings in terms of the SLF and how it might be adapted.

Representatives from each of the organisations in 5.2 were interviewed. Their quotes will be referenced with the abbreviations in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Interviewee reference abbreviations

Organisation	Interviewee reference
Scottish Borders Council	SBC
Borders Forest Trust: Site manager Community woodlands	BFTa BFTb
Bowhill Estate	BE
Darnick Community Wood	DCW
Eshields Community Wood	ECW
Forestry Commission Scotland Borders District	FCS BD
Forestry Commission Scotland: South Scotland Conservancy	FCS SSC
Lindean Community Wood	LCW
Scottish Enterprise	SE
Scottish Borders Tourist Board	SBTB
Woodschool	W

5.2 Background of Organisations, initiatives and groups studied

This section represents only some of the bodies involved in the forestry sector in the Borders (see 4.3.1). The information mainly comes from interviews, with additional information from websites or other sources.

5.2.1 Forestry Commission South Scotland Conservancy

The South Scotland Conservancy's main role is the implementation of FC Scotland policy, the Scottish Forestry Strategy, in the Scottish Borders and Dumfries and Galloway. This is done through felling controls, grants schemes, advice, promotion and partnership working. *'Our main job is to encourage sustainable management of existing woodlands and appropriate new woodland creation for a range of benefits.'*

The FC conservancy mainly works with the private sector, the owners or managers of woods or potential woods. At the time of the field work the Scottish Forestry Grants Scheme was a new grants scheme for Scotland, designed to deliver a large part of the Scottish Forestry Strategy. It provided payments towards planting and managing woods and, compared with previous schemes, was more flexible and able

to provide appropriate levels of payment for different sites. Grants were available under three main headings:

1. Woodland expansion - creating new woodlands.
2. Restocking grants - replanting following felling.
3. Stewardship grants - for a range of activities in existing woodlands: improving timber quality, reducing deer numbers, native woodlands, improving biodiversity, landscape improvement, developing alternative systems to clear-felling, woodland recreation and developing community involvement (Forestry Commission Scotland, 2003)³.

FC Scotland South Scotland Conservancy encourages larger estates to develop Forest Plans. These are long-term holistic plans for a particular forest estate. FCS provides a grant to produce the plan, which details felling and restocking proposals and integrates plans for landscape, wildlife and public access. FCS also works with a range of organisations, such as SNH, Historic Scotland, SEPA, SEERAD and the Tweed Foundation, mainly in the capacity of consultation about planting and felling proposals. In addition, all felling and new planting is entered in a public register.

5.2.2 Scottish Enterprise

Scottish Enterprise wish to see a group of forestry industries, linked as customers, suppliers, partners, service providers and researchers - all collaborating to their mutual benefit and are keen to establish wood as the ‘natural choice’ for sustainable and innovative solutions to meet the wants and needs of tomorrow’s customers.

In collaboration with the Scottish Forest Industries Cluster, a group which encompasses all of the stakeholders in the sector, Scottish Enterprise priorities are:

- to develop knowledge;
- to develop new products and markets;
- to develop the network; and
- develop links with the wider community.

³ Refer to 2.6 for an update on Scottish forestry grants

The 'Roots for Growth' programme has objectives to:

- develop product awareness of Scottish softwood;
- develop higher added value products and processes;
- strengthen the design of wood and timber products;
- improve education about wood as the sustainable material;
- develop market niches based on local advantage and/or design and marketing strength;
- strengthen home-based advantage by getting closer to customers;
- develop a wood-using culture; and
- encourage innovation in the use of timber and timber products from Scotland.

(http://www.scottish-enterprise.com/sedotcom_home/sig/sig-forest/forest_industries_vision.htm?siblingtoggle=1)

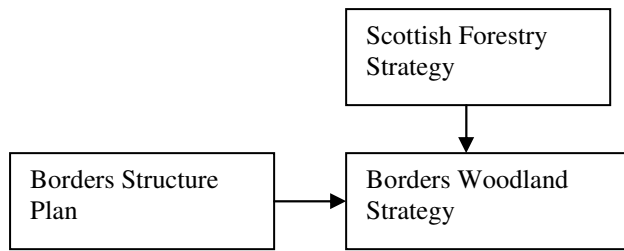
The interviewee saw the role of Scottish Enterprise as being to '*support the demand side of the industry*' - to create new demand by stimulating new research, developing new products and, through this, increasing the amount of timber used per head in Britain.

5.2.3 Scottish Borders Council

The Council has several roles with regard to forestry:

- It is a member of the South Scotland Forestry Action Group, a group that involves council and industry representatives;
- It has officers involved in farm diversification;
- It acts as a consultee on forest plans and applications for new planting;
- It has countryside rangers who work with community groups and BFT;
- It has an Access Officer coordinating a partnership project 'Borders Paths'.

At the time of the interview with a member of the Scottish Borders Council, the Council was in the process of producing a Borders Woodland Strategy (Scottish Borders Council, 2005). The strategy is seen as the local implementation of the Scottish Forestry Strategy and the forestry arm of the Borders Structure Plan.



The initiative and drive for a local forestry plan came from the production of the Local Biodiversity Action Plan (LBAP). The LBAP project involved research into the forest habitat network and developed a model to determine the best way to enhance it. This led to pressure to develop a general forestry plan, of which ‘habitat network creation’ would be a part, and this general forestry plan evolved into the Borders Woodland Strategy.

The following information is taken directly from the Borders Woodland Strategy (Scottish Borders Council, 2005). The Strategy provides a ‘positive framework’ that will encourage the wider forestry and woodland sector to:

- Design new and manage existing woodlands in ways that protect and enhance the landscape, ecological and cultural richness of the Scottish Borders as well as being capable of producing high quality timber;
- Undertake a programme of woodland expansion, restoration and development of forest habitat networks that will lead to 25% woodland cover in the region over the next 50 years;
- Help all woodland-related businesses to thrive, and diversify, and to retain and add value to existing and new woodlands in the Scottish Borders on a sustainable basis;
- Enhance the quality of life for everyone in Scottish Borders by restoring and strengthening a woodland culture;
- Forge new linkages and partnership between public agencies, businesses, local communities and other organisations, both within and beyond the boundaries of the Scottish Borders, that will help raise the profile of the sector and thereby attract new skills and resources into the region;

- Develop its skills, knowledge and competitiveness, raise standards and attract the future lifeblood of the forestry sector to the Scottish Borders;
- Provide an educational resource that will improve public understanding and appreciation of the significance of trees, woodlands and forests to people's well-being in the Scottish Borders.

5.2.4 Tourist Board

The Area Tourist Board is responsible for marketing and developing tourism in the Scottish Borders. The Board has a degree of autonomy, preparing their own business plan which is put to Scottish Borders Council and Visit Scotland who provide core funding. (The structure changed shortly after the interviews in April 2005 when it became a sub-office of Visit Scotland). The Tourist Board works with over 800 members, such as bed and breakfasts and visitor attractions, who pay a membership fee in return for marketing and promotion. The Board is very customer focused.

'I think we are quite unique in having such a strong customer focus and having the staff and resources on the product development side. ... we have two business advisors, who work out of the business gateway whose main role is to help new tourism businesses to develop and we do a lot of training.'

An example of their customer focus is their input to developing Glentworth mountain biking centre in order that it met as broad a customer base as possible.

5.2.5 Woodschool

Established in 1997, Woodschool is a sawmill, a producer of quality finished goods and a training provider. It is an associated business of the Borders Forest Trust and, together, they aim to demonstrate a model of sustainable woodland management.

The current director of Woodschool saw that 85 – 90% of Scottish hardwood was being exported with no added value; nearly all the wood products were being made from imported timber; there was a dwindling skill base and that, particularly in Scotland, the culture of use of timber in the built environment had been lost. In response to this he established Woodschool to add value to Scottish hardwoods and provide training. The sawmill element of Woodschool offers a stock of kiln dried

ash, elm, beech, oak and sycamore. Woodschool also provides bench space, a studio and a showroom for 7 graduates who design and make furniture and fittings.

Although there are about 250 graduates per year trained in timber related applied trade in Scotland, most of them do not go on to develop their skills or practice what they are trained to do (W). Woodschool provides an opportunity for individuals to gain experience and build up a reputation. People usually stay for about 3 years and, of the 13 people who have passed through Woodschool, 12 now have their own successful businesses. Woodschool has made furniture and fittings for offices, schools, churches, the Scottish Parliament and houses.

5.2.6 Borders Forest Trust (BFT)

The Borders Forest Trust grew out of three community initiatives. First, the Borders Community Woodland, now Wooplaw, which was the first community owned woodland in Scotland. Second, Peebles Environmental Concern who organised a conference in 1993 'Restoring Borders Woodlands'. Third, an initiative of Eoin Cox and Tim Stead called 'No Buts' which tried to address their concern that it was nearly impossible to buy local hardwood timber.

A funding opportunity arose from the Millennium Forests for Scotland Trust and the current director, Willie McGhee, applied for support for a number of projects under two themes: living with trees (community woodlands and woodland restoration) and working with trees (setting up Woodschool). The bid was successful and Borders Forest Trust was established January 1996. It is a registered charity and company limited by guarantee. The linked trading subsidiary, Woodschool, is owned by BFT and feeds profits back into BFT.

BFT has continued to work on three fronts: community, woodland restoration and economic. The economic strand is addressed through Woodschool. The woodland restoration is closely tied to grant funding available and has a number of different projects. Projects are usually centred around planting trees and/or getting areas fenced off to exclude stock to allow trees to regenerate or protecting planted trees.

The third area, community woodlands, has expanded with more and more people becoming interested in community woodlands (BFTb). BFT assist in the development and support of community woodlands. They are involved in the management of 19 community woodlands in the Borders. In most instances the woodland is owned by another party, such as FCS or the Local Council, and BFT act as a link between the local community and the land owner. BFT are responsible for ensuring management is in accordance with any stipulations of the owners as well as demands of the local community. In other cases, the woods are owned by the community and BFT has an advisory role. BFT assists groups with organisational matters, such as being formally registered or insurance, and in planning and carrying out activities, such as tree planting or educational events. The Community Woodlands Forum was established by BFT in 2005 to try to improve direct links and sharing between the different community woodlands in the Borders. The intention is that Community woodlands will help each other with less reliance on BFT.

BFT is dependent on grant funding. Grants are generally 3 years and tied to specific projects. Much time is spent raising funds. As of summer 2005, the Community Woodland Officer post was mainly funded by Heritage Lottery and Leader plus. BFT is striving to be less dependent on grant funding. Membership fees bring in about £6,000 per yr. A consultancy service has been developed and, as of summer 2005, had 4 on-going consultancies. The Woodschool and BFT product range are designed to generate profit and income for BFT, but, as of summer 2005, were yet to do so.

More information on the activities of BFT can be found on their website at www.bordersforesttrust.org

5.2.7 Community woodlands: Janet's Brae and Glenkinnon

Janet's Brae and Glenkinnon are two of the six community woodlands in the FCS Tweed Valley Forest Park managed under joint management agreements between BFT and FCS – the Tweed Valley Forest Park Community Woodlands. They are areas of woodland which are either not very productive or due to undergo

restructuring and where FCS consider the involvement of BFT could add value through their expertise and experience in conservation and community involvement. Public meetings were held when the joint management boards were created to encourage the communities to become involved. The Tweed Valley Forest Park Community Woodlands all follow the same objectives, with varying emphasis depending on the site:

- to promote the development of native woodlands,
- to enhance biodiversity,
- to encourage public use and participation, and
- to promote economic development where potential exists.

No community groups exist at Janet's Brae or Glenkinnon and BFT effectively manage the woods. Although the communities are invited to participate in work days, they are not involved in organising them or overseeing the management of the woods.

Janet's Brae is situated just outside Peebles close to the mountain biking site at Glentress. It was part of a private estate at one time and has areas of mixed woodland as well as conifer blocks. Glenkinnon lies close to the small village of Caddonfoot, in the Tweed valley. The nearest town is Galashiels, about 3 miles away. The community wood extends along the South bank of the Glenkinnon Burn. The community wood was previously spruce, felled in 2000, and is now a young plantation of mixed broadleaves, some planted and some regenerating naturally.

5.2.8 Community woodland: Eshiels

Eshiels community woodland is located a few miles outside Peebles adjacent to the small settlement of Eshiels. It can be divided into two areas - a strip of mature woodland next to the A72 stretching down to an old landfill site that was planted about 6 years ago and is owned by the council and a second adjoining section, leading down to the river is FCS woodland. BFT have a lease on both sections. The recently planted area is mixed native broadleaves, the strip next to the road is mixed native and non-native species and the FCS area is largely commercial conifers. BFT

do most of the management. The interviewee had moved to the area in the last few years and there had been no community involvement before she arrived. The community do not have a properly constituted group or a management committee. The interviewee and her neighbour act as the main contacts for BFT. Access and conservation are the main objectives. BFT carry out most of the day to day management and organise events. There is no formal group at Eshields

5.2.9 Community woodland: Darnick

Darnick community woodland is adjacent to the village of Darnick, just outside Melrose. It was established on a piece of rough ground owned by the council. BFT came to an arrangement with the council regarding using the area of land for a community woodland. BFT prepared a plan for the plot which was then presented at a meeting to which the community were invited. The meeting encouraged local people to become involved in the initiative. The site is still owned by the Council and held by BFT on a long term lease. The first trees were planted in 1998, since when about 4000 trees have been planted. Funding for planting was secured by BFT and came from a variety of sources. An official community wood association has been formed and the community group have become self financing. Income comes from fundraising events and a membership scheme. Day to day management is in the hands of the community. Objectives are mainly conservation but also include people interacting with nature and recreation. *'let it be an entirely natural space and ...we want the animal, insects, birds and people recreational'*. Currently, management is kept to a minimum and no economic activities are planned.

5.2.10 Community Wood: Lindean

Lindean community wood is an isolated small woodland on top of a hill on the edge of the village of Lindean a few miles east of Selkirk. It contains a mixture of species, mainly larch, pine, oak, sycamore, ash, beech and Sitka spruce. It was originally part of Sunderland Hall estate and then attached to smaller farms. In the mid 1990s it was sold off as part of a house, field and wood lot, but quickly put back on the market on its own. BFT bought the wood in 1996. Once purchased, BFT held a meeting with the local people to encourage involvement of the community. The wood is still

owned by BFT, but jointly managed by them and the community group which has formed an official association. The interviewee reported that the community group was keen to take on as much of the management as possible and had been successful in raising significant funds for an access project. Objectives primarily relate to access for local people and education of children. The group also hopes to improve the biodiversity value of the wood and undertake limited economic activities.

5.2.11 Public Estate: The Tweed Valley Forest Park

The Tweed Valley Forest Park was launched in August 2002. It comprises the publicly owned woodlands at Glentress, Cardrona, Cademuir, Caberston, Traquair and Elibank, Thornielee and Yair Forests, covering 6,800 ha. Planting began at Glentress in 1926 but most of the forests are much younger, having been planted in the 1950s and 60s. These forests were planted to produce timber and are predominantly Sitka spruce with some mixed species in various sections and along the edges of the woods. The area has been popular for recreation for some 30 years, since thinning activities allowed access. Most of the area is in its 'first rotation' and FCS has recently started the process of felling and restocking. This is seen as a window of opportunity to change the structure and species composition of the woodlands. The objectives are '*to create a sustainable forest*' (FCS BD) and include recreation, conservation, timber production, landscape and maintenance of historical sites.

5.2.12 A private estate

The woodland at Bowhill forms part of the Bowhill estate, owned by the Duke of Buccleuch. It is situated just to the west of Selkirk in the Scottish Borders. Much of the present woodland dates from planting between 1810 and 1870 at which time formal planting was carried out to put the newly built mansion in a proper setting. '*Two hundred years of tree planting at Bowhill have left a most impressive treescape of mixed woodland and farmland worthy of an estate recognised ... for its integrated land management*' (Ian White Associates, 1987). The woodlands are mixed with a large variety of species. As well as scenic and amenity value the woods were planted to provide timber for use on the estate. There are detailed management objectives

falling under eleven headings: timber, financial, biological diversity, recreation, amenity, landscape, archaeology, sporting, farm shelter, crop protection and environment.

5.3 Interviewees' motivation for involvement in forestry and personal vision for forestry in the Borders.

For many of the interviewees, their involvement in forestry emerges from a long held interest in and desire to work in the countryside, often associated with experiences from their own upbringing. It appears to be more than a job and something that is embodied in them and about which they feel passionate.

- *'I was interested in working in the countryside. I came from a rural area in Northumberland and forestry/farming were two things I was interested in all about working in the countryside and working outdoors with an interest in the environment' (FCS SSC);*
- *'I wanted an outside life. I found a job in forestry at 17 ..' (SE);*
- *'I'm a product of my landscape, so I've always been involved in my landscape. I was brought up near the sea and I'm obsessive about the rural landscape and the people who live in it' (W);*
- *'I always loved all things nature and wildlife and got this job and it's just brilliant and I'm lucky'; 'As a child we were taken out into the woodlands - we grew up with a bit of woodland instinct'; 'it has always been in the blood to be amongst the forests ...' (BFTb);*
- *'I have been a forester for 21 years. Fantastic time. Vocation. When you ask foresters what they do in their spare time, many of them spend it in forests as well' (FCS BD);*
- *'...decided to do something that I enjoy as a hobby (BFTa).'*

There was also feeling that their involvement has purpose and is good for the environment and socially was important:

- *'why forestry, it was a resource that was getting hammered' (W);*
- *'I believe in what the FC does and I like to have a job that I feel has some purpose and meaning to it' (LCW);*
- *'I'm interested in nature – just general wellbeing of the countryside ... when the opportunity to put a wood in came along, I thought that is the right thing' (DCW).*

In addition, the varied nature of the work appeals:

- *'Such a wide ranging job. I take in conservation, recreation, heritage, planning/design plans (40yrs) – from those plans - how the forest is going to*

look in terms of the landscape, the amount of timber it is going to produce, the amount of native woodlands, how you're going to deal with heritage, how you're going to deal with recreational issues'; 'You know the great thing for me about working in forestry is variety you're involved in growing a truly renewable resource, locking up carbon, ... also creating/recreating/maintaining a bit of landscape so you're a bit of a landscape architect, having huge affect on water quality and water yields, so bit of a hydrologist, ... deal with all sorts of habitats particularly with birds, so bit of an ornithologist, bit of an entomologist, involved in butterflies deer and other mammals – so one is a conservationist, and you are involved in recreation and footpath management. ... then you're a harvesting manager when you're harvesting the crop ... a business manager .. all areas that you juggle and that's what makes the job interesting' (BE).

The length of the production cycle and longevity of trees is also mentioned as an interest and/or attraction:

- *'The biggest kick is it for me is that what we harvest today is the fruits of someone's labour who is probably dead and buried - work done by men 50 – 100 years ago. We feel responsibility that we had better do a good job today, we are not going to see benefit of it, someone in 50 – 100 years is going to say – didn't those guys do a bloody good job – so the long term nature of it' (BE).*

Two interviewees mentioned getting more (economically) out of the local woodland resource:

- *'to have a thriving local wood-using culture in the borders whether that be in sawn timber or chips for biofuel. It is ludicrous that 90% of timber is exported out of the Borders – puts pressure on roads, local settlements, economics and the value added is going out of the area after it has been growing here for X years. I'd like to see stimulation of the forest industry within the Borders – more processing facilities more value added here in the Borders and general increase in uptake of the wood using culture. Get down stream and upstream benefits right through to the community' (BE).*
- *'..... more imaginative use of total forest product – everything, even the air between the trees – bottle it if you have to get some value added, right through to any NTFPs (non-timber forest products)' (W).*

More people enjoying woodlands was mentioned by four interviewees:

- *...getting more people out into the wood, enjoying it and appreciating it' (DCW).*
- *'I really enjoy seeing people enjoy themselves in the forest. Obviously there are people working in the forest as well. I like the community woodland that we have in that we are trying to get children into the wood through school groups just to try and educate children more about what is out there –*

nowadays they seem to focus on computer screens and the opportunities to get out and about are restricted’ (LCW).

- *‘Overriding thought is that forests are for people. Mainly ... well all people, but local communities – people who actually live in the area, tourists, communities of place and communities of interest’* (FCSBD).
- *‘.... appreciated by society and the community’* (FCS SSC).

Four interviewees mentioned more trees as part of their vision, one of whom linked it to a more favourable land use than housing:

- *‘More trees ... (BFTb).’*
- *‘My vision for the future is that instead of becoming a suburb of Edinburgh, I’d rather have trees than houses. Beautiful countryside, rather than spoil it with houses which will virtually be bed and breakfast I feel that woodland contributes a lot more than that type of itinerant’ population.’* (DCW)
- *‘....Sustainable, developing and expanding with the right trees in the right places* (FCS SSC).’
- *‘Better cover – more structured age, continuous cover actually* (W).’

Increase in biodiversity was part of the vision for two interviewees:

- *‘The area where I grew up used to be the old Ettrick forest and there is only a tiny bit of it left most planting has been big swathes of pine trees – both environmentally and visually it’s not very inspiring. My vision would be for reintroducing a lot of the native species that were here originally’* (ECW).
- *‘I look at the woodland and I can see how it is helping form cover for birds and animals and insects and continuous cover’* (DCW).

A few interviewees included the multi-purpose nature of forestry in their vision:

- *‘Gradually try and reduce the reliance on the commercial forestry and also if you look at things like the Glentress forest here I think forestry as a recreational area is very much on the up in the Borders and I think that should be welcomed’* (ECW).
- *‘We are a state forestry that delivers to the people in the area but also to the tourists as tourists help the local economy. We provide this massive resource which is used for as many different things as possible and that there are no barriers and it is open for people to come into’* (SFCBD).
- *‘Forestry in the borders to be multi purpose’* (FCS SSC).

One interviewee included better community involvement:

- *‘Involve community more and properly. Bring the civic pride back and build on local identity’* (W).

5.4 The forest resource, its governance, objectives and outputs

The following sections discuss the forest resource and its governance; the objectives of the different community woodlands, the private estate and the public estate; the mechanisms used by each, and the outcomes delivered. Final sections discuss observations relating to forestry and farming and issues around sustainability.

5.4.1 The forest resource

The current state of the resource was said by several interviewees to be a result of too much emphasis on supply at the expense of listening to demand. In particular, the Scottish Enterprise and Tourist Board interviewees felt that the industry had been supply driven rather than demand lead and this was resulting in inappropriate products and missed opportunities: *‘need to do a lot of consumer research then, hopefully, put the right resources into developing the right kind of products’* (SBTB). This interviewee’s opinion was that for the forest resource to play a greater role in attracting visitors to the region, a sector of the economy which is considered important, policy makers needed to pay more attention to the finer details of what the consumer, i.e. the visitor, wants. The Woodschool interviewee felt that the industrial nature of state afforestation and forestry operations did not provide for sustainable development: *‘both scale and product were misconceived and inappropriate for sustainable development in Scotland’* (W).

It could be said that to certain extent some of the Community Woodlands encountered are demonstrating the same trait of being ‘supply led’. They are being created by agencies with a vision, responding to funding opportunities, and are not ‘bottom-up’ initiatives being demanded by the communities. The results have been limited community involvement in many of the woods, only two out of the five communities forming associations and no communities interested in taking over ownership.

The question of supply and demand in forestry is somewhat different to many other products due to the long time that trees take to reach maturity. The resource can be restructured and managed to respond to current demands but, when it comes to

planting trees, policy makers need to try to predict future demands of various consumer groups and likely national and international strategies and obligations to decide where, what and how much to plant.

5.4.2 Governance

Of the five community woodlands explored, two were Tweed Valley Forest Park Community Woodlands, part of the public estate and managed by a joint FC/BFT management board. *‘When we started the Tweed Valley Community Woodland project ... we wanted to get more people involved in the area but we did not have the staff or experience to do that and BFT have a lot of expertise about how to involve community’* (FCS BD) .

One was council owned, leased to BFT and managed by BFT and a community group, one was owned by BFT and also jointly managed by BFT and a community group and one was part owned by the Council and part public estate, leased by BFT and managed largely by BFT with some input from the community.

Other community involvement initiatives were also mentioned. The Friends of Tweed Valley Forest Park, is a special District Forestry Commission initiative to engage communities of interest. A three year post was created (and funded) to run this scheme. There was evidence that elements of BFT feel somewhat threatened by this direction taken by FCS as it was felt to be ‘BFT territory’. At Bowhill good community relations and opportunities for funding have resulted in two community woodlands, although ongoing community involvement in management is minimal.

Community involvement can be interestingly contrasted in our examples. It was stated that, in general:

‘(community involvement is) quite a slow process in the borders, especially in the areas up the Tweed Valley. They (the public) have had access for the past 40 years or longer and take it for granted. Unless there are major issues, on the whole they are quite happy with what is going on. It is a different story in other areas where views are more polarised’ (BFT a).

Amongst the community woodlands interviewed, levels of involvement were on the whole quite low and dependent on a few key individuals, however varying degrees of involvement were found amongst the woodlands. Janet's Brae is near a relatively large population which has enjoyed access to the wood for a long time. Here community involvement in management has been very low. On the other hand, Glenkinnon has a small and compact community and the community woodland initiative opened up access to a previously inaccessible adjoining area of woodland. This community showed a significant amount of interest, at least in the early stages of the project.

Community consultation as an element of management arose in several of the discussions. Although there have been other mechanisms for consultation, through public registers and community councils, the Forestry Commission Conservancy admitted: *'the one thing we haven't really cracked is community consultation'* (as opposed to consulting other bodies) (FCS SSC). It was felt that proper community consultation would be partially addressed through an increase in use of forest plans. Community consultation is a requirement of the preparation stage of such plans. The Private Estate had carried out such an exercise as part of its plan preparation. The interviewee was somewhat dismissive of it as a 'one off exercise' claiming that, because the estate is very closely linked to near by communities, consultation is on-going and functional: *'as far as I'm concerned we have been passively consulting for decades. People know us and we are faces in the community. It's constant consultation. If anyone had a problem regarding a tree, they come to me'* (BE).

5.4.3 Objectives and management instruments

Although all the woods explored are being managed as 'multi-benefit', the breadth of objectives they embrace and the emphasis of objectives differ. As well as the visions and values of key people involved, the differences largely reflect the set-ups under which each wood is managed and the forces driving the 'setting of objectives'. The mechanisms enabling the delivery of objectives available to the different woodlands also differ.

The management objectives of the private woodland, Bowhill, are driven by a combination of the values of the Duke of Buccleuch, the market and the need to support other enterprises on the estate. The objectives of woodland management were described to be ‘self regulating’ as other divisions in the estate, such as the farming or sporting, would not allow objectives relating to animal and crop shelter or cover for game birds to be ignored. *‘A good shelter belt can make the difference between life and death of livestock on the hill in winter’* (BE).

It could be said that the woodland management is heavily integrated into the market and surrounding area. The main mechanisms used to deliver objectives are the market and the SFGS. Bowhill is well connected to the forestry sector in general, benefiting from contacts and up-to-date information and has working links with other estate departments and the local community. These mechanisms enable Bowhill to support the local economy through provision of timber to local sawmills, developing new products, providing considerable amenity and recreation and fostering community involvement.

In contrast to Bowhill, the community woodlands are isolated from the market. The objectives being pursued reflect the vision of the BFT and the respective community groups. There was no evidence of conflicts over objectives, with BFT being happy to accommodate wishes of communities and communities’ visions largely reflecting priorities of BFT. Funding to support major operations, such as planting or access provisions, largely comes from external grant giving bodies, such as the Lottery. Other mechanisms used are networks and contacts within the community woodland movement which facilitate sharing of information and experience. *‘Last year at the picnic day I had two members from Wooplaw doing demonstrations’* (DCW); *‘Our constitution was given to Darnick so they could see how to set up. And we have had links with Gordon community wood’* (LCW).

Support and information is accessed through BFT which is very well connected to the wider forestry and voluntary sectors. Informal arrangements using payments-in-kind, links and coordination with neighbours, mobilisation of community support

and voluntary work by community groups and other special interest groups are also used in the management of these woods. BFT arrange for voluntary groups such as Scottish Wildlife Trust or Community Service to carry out work in the woods in return for using the woodlands as fora for training and development. For more specialised operations such as thinning, BFT will either pay contractors or arrange a 'deal' whereby contractors will take a portion of the product.

Where possible, BFT time woodland operations to coincide with work going on in neighbouring woods to reduce costs. They have close relationships with land owners such as Bowhill and use their storage facilities. Through these mechanisms the community woodlands are 'created' and are effective in providing access and amenity, opportunities for community involvement and education and training sites.

The FCS woodlands are managed on behalf of the public according to wider Scottish Executive priorities with the aim of maximising public benefit. Emphasis is put on how woodland can support and fulfil Scottish Executive policy areas. *'We need to be seen to match Scottish Executive objectives, whether in health or education or welfare'* (FCS BD).

Although core funding is provided by the Scottish Executive, FCS seeks additional external funding to enhance its operations. These funds are usually accessed through partnerships, which also bring additional experience and skills to the project. Partnerships with BFT have been used to increase conservation and community benefits of specific woods and with business ventures to provide visitor/amenity attractions. *'The beauty of partnership is that everyone who comes to the table has strengths and weaknesses and you can combine your strengths and the whole is greater than the parts. I've seen it time and time again'* (FCS BD).

Secure public funding has enabled FCS to support the wood processing sector through guaranteed supply of timber, and to provide a well established amenity and recreation resource. The additional projects were said to have enhanced the social outputs of the FC estate.

5.4.4 Economic, environmental and social outcomes

The woodlands explored were generally managed to be ‘multi-purpose’ being purposefully managed to achieve a number of outcomes. The private woodland has to be managed with a greater focus on economic returns. The quest for new markets and a greater variety of products sold from Bowhill woodland reflects this. *‘We need to be looking at other alternatives and other outlets and be innovative in our marketing. Some of the minor products are coming back and becoming major products charcoal and firewood are now quite significant’* (BE). In addition the Estate has ventured into bioenergy. BFT is keen that there are economic activities in their community woods, but currently such activities are sporadic and mainly organised by BFT rather than the communities. The size of individual woods makes such activities less viable and woodlands need to ‘join together’ to make economic operations more attractive. *‘But if you link all the woodland together in all these things (different products) more things become viable – huge potential’* (BFTa).

BFT itself has a small product range which, although not significant currently, is intended to contribute a larger portion of BFT income in the future. Interviewees felt that the branding associated with well managed/community woods in the Tweed Valley might help sell their products in the future. BFT’s sister organisation, Woodschool, demonstrates the potential added value to Scottish hardwoods and their economic value.

One community woodland representative raised the issue of whether community woodlands stimulated local economic activity:

‘If we are all employed elsewhere and we doing this (managing a community woodland) as a lifestyle thing and we are getting trained to use sprays and chainsaws and going in at the weekend, what we are actually doing is taking the money away from other people – so we would be better, as a community group, to stand back and apply for money that we can access and other’s can’t, and pay contractors who already have businesses and are set up to do the work If we all get too involved, we would be potentially putting people out of work’ (LCW).

On the other hand, on the whole, community woodlands appear to be on previously unmanaged, or minimally managed, land, so any increase in management and

employment or purchasing of inputs locally would have a positive local economic impact.

Timber production has traditionally been an objective of the FC and, although recently economic returns have not had such a high priority, impact on the local economy is increasingly a concern of FCS, being a priority of the Scottish Executive (FCS BD). Recent studies have shown that visitors to the Tweed Valley Forest Park do have a considerable impact on the local economy (Oates, 2003).

Conservation has become more important in both the private and public woodlands studied. It is also a principle objective of BFT. There were interesting examples of how environmental outcomes underpinned social and economic outcomes. In the community woods enjoyment of, and education in, the woods was often linked to habitat creation: *'It (the community woodland) is providing a useful purpose – providing a space for wildlife and humans to get together'* (DCW). The Osprey project in the Tweed Valley Forest Park is an example of an economic and educational venture embedded in a conservation outcome.

Access was the main social benefit commented on by interviewees. Bowhill has historically provided free and wide access. As well as being part of the ethos of the Duke of Buccleuch, access to the woodlands acts as an attraction to visitors who pay to visit Bowhill house. Users are mainly people who walk in the woods, but there are also specific events including mountain biking, orienteering, school visits and outdoor theatre. The estate estimates to have about 20,000 visitors per year. The interviewee said that they would like to improve the amenity and recreation and felt there may be opportunities for eco-tourism.

Recreation and amenity is a principal objective of nearly all the community woodlands. A degree of unease about encouraging too many users was expressed at two of the community woodlands which directly adjoin houses. Users are mainly local people going for a walk. Specific groups also use various woods, generally organised by BFT. One of the woods has made a point of establishing links with

local schools. *'We have links to the Main Park Primary – primary 4 group have been using it mainly'* (LCW). Community groups also face barriers in attempts to encourage use: *'local school doesn't use the wood as much as I'd like – constrained by transport costs as they'd need a minibus'* (DCW). FCS woodlands have open access: *'All our woodlands have open access policies'* (FCS BD) and it is seen as the main focus of the Tweed Valley Forest Park. Again, most visitors to the woods are local people going for a walk.

At Bowhill there are occasional events to encourage particular interest groups into the wood. There are provisions for less able people at Bowhill Estate and in the Tweed Valley Forest Park with a number of paths being suitable for wheelchair use. Access for less able and disadvantaged groups is a consideration of BFT who, where the site allows, put in provisions for less able people. They also arrange for less able and disadvantaged groups to visit and use the woodlands which they manage.

The Scottish Borders Council is involved in the 'core path network' which is being developed as part of the Scottish land reform legislation. With dedicated footpaths linking communities to nearby woodlands, it is anticipated that use of woods will increase. Regarding missed opportunities, it was remarked that, although landowners now get grants for improving access through the SFGS, it is hard to find out about awards (and resulting new /improved access) and that a marketing plan should be a necessary component, to ensure that resulting access was publicised and (hopefully) used.

BFT were hoping that the woods would also become fora for more cultural events:

'There is also scope for woodlands to incorporate more art, local art groups and sculpture groups who would like to do more in the wood from a culture point of view there is more scope. ... Music as well. There is a lack of venues for bands. It would get people into the woods, encourage them in' (BFTa).

On the other hand one of the woodlands mentioned that they had fallen at the 'first hurdle' of the idea of putting in a sculpture trail – that of getting funding.

Community woodlands were said to result in people feeling they had a stake in the area and as a mechanism for bringing people together. *‘Although there is no formal group, there is general sense of ownership by the locals – their wood – and they are quite protective over it’* (BFTa). Concerning one of the other community woods, the interviewee mentioned that it was a good vehicle for getting people together and doing things, even though turnout to organised events is often quite low.

5.4.5 Forestry and farming

At Bowhill estate, there is a close relationship between forestry and farming as noted in 5.4.3. In terms of financial interdependence it was described how, in the past, a degree of cross-subsidy between agriculture and forestry assisted Bowhill in delivering public benefits. This is not feasible presently due to the economic pressure that both agriculture and forestry are under.

Interviewees also mentioned the changing attitudes of farmers towards forestry:

- *‘In the past there would probably have been resistance from the farmers to something like the Woodland Strategy as it would have been seen as a threat – planting trees on our agricultural land. ... Responses we have from agricultural agencies and representatives have been more relaxed – saying that the goalposts have shifted quite markedly and therefore if it provides opportunities for farmers, it is not going to be a problem’* (SBC);
- *‘Everyone is waiting to see what CAP reforms will mean’* (SBC);
- *‘It all comes down to resources and the rate of the (forestry) grants and how they compare with other things like the agricultural subsidies... if extra money is made available, things can happen’* (FCS SSC).

It is anticipated that CAP reforms will result in opportunities for forestry to have a greater role in the local socio-economy.

‘The barriers between farming and forestry are starting to break down. Hopefully farmers will plant more woodlands, some for biodiversity or recreation and some for more commercial ventures ‘and small industries will spring up around that’ (SBC).

However, in the short term, the CAP reforms seemed to be constraining planting levels. The uncertain nature of the implications of the reforms making landowners hesitant about land use decisions and resulting in low uptakes of the SFGS for planting in the Borders (FCS SSC).

5.4.6 Issues of sustainability

The relative importance of alternative objectives and sustainability is of interest. The Bowhill estate interviewee commented on sustainability:

'it annoys us intensely when people go on about sustainability but all they are really looking at is the social and environmental ... Where is the money coming from to pay for it all? People conveniently tend to ignore that angle, particularly state services and government agencies who rely on hand outs' (BE).

Also, in comparing farming and forestry:

'Farmers are likely to be paid for public benefits. ... Forestry has been providing a lot of public benefits for a long time. When forest markets were better, one could cross subsidise between commercial wood and areas managed for amenity With timber markets low, we no longer have this ability (which) puts a lot of pressure on the public services and benefits that we provide. .. We are still expected to maintain or raise the level of public benefits' (BE).

The Woodschool interviewee felt very strongly that the economic aspect of sustainability needed addressing:

'ecosystems to me encompass an economic system and the balance of how we fit in there is really important ... that picture to me is sustainable development I look at the resource, not as amenity, or habitat or research area or a playground .. need to get the product out of it' (W).

The philosophy of Woodschool is to enhance the capacity to add value to the hardwood resource in Scotland, thereby making it more viable: *'if you can get a wood paying for itself, it doesn't die on its feet. Make viable systems, make sustainable systems'* (W).

Two of the community woods, Darnick and Lindean, had taken on fund raising activities and planned to be financially independent. The others are wholly dependent on BFT who effectively access funds on their behalf. However, the long-term viability of such an arrangement is questionable.

Several interviewees commented on the Forestry Commission and the public estate in terms of its management and sustainability. The Scottish Enterprise interviewee was quite critical of the Forestry Commission, feeling that they lacked vision and that the culture of the organisation prohibits entrepreneurial flair: *' .. it should all be*

sold – either to communities or to private hands. They should get out of harvesting, which they are not very efficient at – running at huge deficits now. I think their days are numbered’ (SE).

The interviewee acknowledged that the FC had had a valuable role in supporting the processing and manufacturing sector, but thought that that could also happen in private ownership through regulation: *‘trees have to be harvested otherwise they blow down, and the State could still control the resource without actually owning it through various regulations’* (SE).

Another interviewee (local authority) had a feeling that the FC would be disposing of part of its estate in the near future: *‘FC have been doing their job, implementing government policy but it is a large financial drain at the moment. I suspect that some of the land managed by FC will be in other hands in the next few years’* (SBC).

The interviewee also acknowledged that FC have been progressive in managing their woodland for recreation and, if it were to go into other hands, there may need to be additional incentives for the resource owners to provide public benefits.

5.5 Provision of local benefits: opportunities and constraints

All interviewees were asked about opportunities and constraints to increasing local benefits from forestry in the Borders. Their responses are summarised in Table 5.2 with the opportunities and constraints categorised and the interviewee mentioning each noted.

Table 5.2. Opportunities and constraints to forestry contributing to rural development in the Scottish Borders.

Opportunities	Interviewee
Build on recreation potential	FCS South Scotland Conservancy Bowhill Estate Scottish Enterprise
Visitors from nearby population centres	FCS Borders District
Niche markets and branding	FCS South Scotland Conservancy Scottish Borders Tourist Board
Bioenergy	FCS Borders District FCS South Scotland Conservancy Bowhill Estate Scottish Enterprise
Timber framed housing	Scottish Enterprise
Fungi	Bowhill Estate Scottish Enterprise
Extractives, such as volatile oils	Scottish Enterprise
Small and medium enterprises	FCS South Scotland Conservancy Scottish Borders Council Scottish Enterprise
Value added small products with local identity/reputation	Borders Forest Trust
Light coppicing, charcoal, firewood, kindling	Borders Forest Trust
Use of woods for education	Borders Forest Trust
Guided walks	Borders Forest Trust
Art and cultural activities in woods	Borders Forest Trust
Linking access to other routes, paths	Community Woodland Representative
Borders Woodland Strategy	FCS South Scotland Conservancy Scottish Borders Council
Better integration with agriculture	FCS South Scotland Conservancy Scottish Borders Council
Better integration in the planning system	FCS South Scotland Conservancy
Constraints	
Agricultural inertia	FCS South Scotland Conservancy
Lack of knowledge and skills	Scottish Enterprise Woodschool
Lack of research and development	Scottish Enterprise Woodschool
Lack of business skills and marketing	Scottish Enterprise Scottish Borders Tourist Board Woodschool
Lack of manufacturing capacity	Scottish Borders Council Scottish Enterprise

Lack of payment for public benefits or resources	FCS South Scotland Conservancy Private Forest Estate
Different aspects of culture	FCS South Scotland Conservancy Scottish Enterprise Woodschool
Forest product markets/prices	FCS South Scotland Conservancy Scottish Enterprise
High land values	FCS South Scotland Conservancy
National policy that is not locally adaptable	Scottish Borders Tourist Board

The Scottish Enterprise interviewee felt that there was potential for forestry to contribute more to rural development in the Scottish Borders through a number of new products, rather than traditional timber production: *‘Economic development in the Borders, looking at Forestry in its traditional sense is very limited, but if it embraces the broader functions and roles, then I think there is great potential in the Borders’* (SE).

The Scottish Enterprise interviewee felt that the main potential for the Borders would be to capitalise on visitors whose trips are often, at least in part, due to the pleasant and wooded environment and the outdoor activities available. *‘The woodland owner, in particular the private woodland owner, needs to capitalise on all these visitors’* (SE).

The SE interviewee suggested that there needed to be high quality visitor centres, cafes and other facilities and that they required ‘partnership working’ to bring in some professionals from the tourism industry to link up with the forestry industry.

The Tourist Board interviewee suggested that visitors would appreciate better interpretation and linking wood to a branding for the Borders, such as using local wood for all the signs, raising the profile of buy-design and Woodschool and other crafts. These are all things *‘that we know our visitors enjoy’* (SBTB).

Bioenergy was mentioned as an opportunity by several interviewees, in particular, small and medium scale bioenergy heat plants, especially for new houses.

‘The wood could provide more local benefits through the use of biomass – local wood, local heating – particularly in rural areas like this where there is no gas mains. We have shipfulls of oil going up and down these valleys in a year and they’re driving past a forest which could provide the energy for all these houses in this valley’ (BE).

Timber framed houses were also mentioned as an area of potential expansion and something that is gaining interest. Fungi and extractives, such as volatile oils, were seen as areas of potential growth and product development. *‘You can make nearly anything from wood extractives that you can make from oil. ... Traditional ideas of wood as a building material or for pulping or chipboard are going to change in the next 30 to 40 years’ (SE).*

Production of economic goods from the BFT community woodlands is low and BFT feels there is potential for it to be much higher. The small size of the woods mean that, individually, they can’t support viable economic activities. Ideally BFT would like to have an arrangement whereby a small team took timber out of all their woods under the agreement that they would take a share in the value of the product. Good timber would go to Woodschool and small timber would be used for the BFT small product range, sold at Buydesign, part of Woodschool, and at the Hub at Glentress. In addition to building on their small product range, BFT think that their woodlands could support additional economic activities such as coppicing, charcoal, kindling and firewood. They also felt that their woods offered some interesting sites and there would be potential for guided walks and further educational activities. The community group representatives interviewed mentioned opportunities to link paths through their woods to other access routes.

The Borders Woodland Strategy was thought to provide an opportunity to raise the profile of forestry, provide a coordinating framework and to access additional funding. Potential funding is anticipated from Challenge or Local Premium funds (administered by FC Scotland) or through linking in with other Scottish Executive priority areas. Along side the effects of CAP reform, already discussed, it is hoped that the Woodland Strategy will promote opportunities for farmers to plant small

farm woodlands as part of rural diversification, and look at associated business opportunities.

The knowledge base in the Borders was thought to be weak. *‘A number of people in the industry are flagging up the lack of skills and it may be that we need to have positive immigration from Hungary or Poland’* (SE). There are BSc programmes in several universities but only two education providers in Scotland offer SVQ courses in forestry, Barony College in Dumfries and Galloway and the other in Inverness. The Borders has no provider of education courses in land based industries. Although modern day apprenticeship schemes were mentioned as an appropriate means of training, the Scottish Enterprise interviewee felt that quality training providers were needed and that they are not generally available in the region. The lack of research and development was mentioned by a few interviewees. One or two notable exceptions were mentioned such as James Jones in the sawmilling sector who was seen as being very innovative and taking on a ‘knowledge sponsor partnership’, which involves a secondment with the Centre for Timber Engineering at Napier University.

The shortage of manufacturing capacity in the Borders highlighted by one interviewee, affects the ability of the area to add value to the timber grown. Presently, UK timber supplies a high proportion of the fencing and pallet market: *‘where we don’t supply is the added value – floor, furniture, joinery – these sort of products’* (SE).

Nearly all the timber leaves the region and is processed in large mills in Dumfries and Galloway or Carlisle. A large mill is not appropriate for the Borders, due to the proximity of mills just out with the region and the road infrastructure, but there are a number of small sawmills. Many of them lack capacity, especially kilning capacity. Kilns are expensive to install but they will become increasingly necessary as new legislation will require pallets and boxes to be heat treated if they are going abroad. Fencing and ‘packaging’ make up the main markets of most of the small sawmills and it was thought that many would go out of business in the next 5 years if they

didn't install kilns. Despite this, there are examples of innovative enterprises in the manufacturing sector. Woodschool was cited as a model that could be expanded and Oregan homes, in Jedburgh, cited as *'one of the leading lights in the timber frame industry'* (SE).

Additionally, lack of business skills and marketing appears to be a key hindrance in the sector. It was mentioned that there is very little advertising in the sector in general and many businesses don't have email or websites. The SE interviewee had recently been looking at rural sawmills using hardwoods in Virginia and found that, although they were technically less advanced than those in Scotland, they were: *'light years ahead in terms of their marketing. There is a need for a shift in culture which is a very difficult thing to do. Scottish Enterprise is trying to do just that, slowly changing culture so companies become outward and proactive'* (SE).

The lack of marketing culture and experience in FCS was raised by the Tourist Board in relation to the visitor related ventures in the Borders. *'If they are going to go into recreation and visitors, then they are going to have to become a very differently focussed organisation'* (SBTB). A further aspect of culture mentioned was the lack of wood using culture amongst the public who were said to lack of awareness about what timber and other woodland products could be used for.

The inflexibility of policy arose in two interviews. National policy that isn't adaptable locally was mentioned by the Tourist Board interviewee as a potential constraint to attempts to increase the (Borders) consumer focus of forest products. The inertia of 'the system' was also mentioned: *'I want less bureaucracy in the system, more involvement, more contact A lot of people are shackled by the system – I say .. go round it, over it , through it. Don't accept that it can't be done'* (W).

Other constraints mentioned were the current low timber prices, which make investment in forestry an uneconomical prospect. Predictions about future timber prices varied, some interviewees were optimistic:

- *‘with the rise in cost of energy and transport and tariffs being imposed on Russian exports (prices may rise)’ (SE);*
- *‘(the) market (for hardwoods) is good at the moment. The price of steel going up (by 40% previous month), wood prices are coming up and there is an increasing use of wood in construction’ (W);*
- *‘the market is currently in a slump, but who knows what is going to happen on the world stage. Currently there is a lot of supply from elsewhere, but it would only take a break down in timber supply or fuel prices and people will start to look to sourcing closer to home’ (SBC).*

On the other hand, another interviewee quoted economic forecasts which predict that production will continue to move east and Europe will only be a market for finished products (SE).

A final constraint to increasing local benefits, sorely felt by the private sector, is: *‘getting properly paid for public benefits provided’ (BE)*. There are benefits that can not currently be adequately or totally captured by the market, even with better research, skills and marketing. *‘If, as much policy demands, these are to be delivered on a sustained or increased basis, the private sector may need additional incentives’ (BE)*.

5.6 Synthesis

This scoping exercise forms the context and understanding from which the more detailed investigation of social benefits described in the following chapter was developed. This phase of the research also provides insights into the perspectives of different stakeholders and their discourses on forestry and rural development, an overview of governance structures and mechanisms used in the management of woodlands, and linkages and conflicts that arise. Through increased understanding of the important factors and interrelating elements in the process of rural development, the findings feed into the development of the tailored Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, the analytical strand of this research.

5.6.1 The stakeholder perspectives

The different organisations and agencies interviewed had different perspectives on the role of forestry and the opportunities it presented. These perspectives were

largely driven by the customer group represented by the organisation and/or the role of the organisation and its vision.

The Forestry Commission Scotland South Scotland Conservancy is responsible for implementing national forestry policy in the South Scotland region. Being a sector specific organisation its perspective is forestry oriented and the area is seen as a locale into which to place forestry policy, although in a context sensitive fashion. It promotes woodland creation and the sustainable management of existing woodland and mainly works with owners and managers of woods. In contrast, the Scottish Borders Council, representing the Scottish Borders and its people, cover all sectors and necessarily view the area in terms of housing, jobs, services and other sectors as well as land use options such as forestry. This is demonstrated by the route into the development of the Borders Woodland Strategy which had been an offshoot of the Local Biodiversity Action Plan and was seen to link closely to the Borders Local Plan.

Scottish Enterprise and the Scottish Borders Tourist Board are both publicly funded agencies with specific remits. Visitor related enterprises in the Scottish Borders are the Tourist Board's customer group. The Tourist Board sees potential for forestry related amenities and their more effective marketing which is linked to a 'branding' of the Scottish Borders as a particular type of visitor destination with a high quality environment and nature based tourism opportunities. Scottish Enterprise promotes business and, in relation to forestry businesses in the Scottish Borders, promotes diversification into non-traditional timber products and visitor enterprises and the skills development needed for this to happen. It recognises the Borders as a region unsuitable to large scale traditional timber processing, but a suitable site for other initiatives, theoretically viable with investment in research and training.

Borders Forest Trust and Woodschool were established as complimentary organisations, together providing a model for the founders' vision of 'sustainable development' which includes community involvement, restoring native woodlands and the commercial use of Scottish hardwoods. The aim is that the business arm

(Woodlschool) will feed profit into BFT to support the social and environmental projects. To date Woodschool has not made profit and BFT is almost entirely dependent on grant funding.

The community woodland customers are mainly the local communities who, where they are involved, pursue objectives and activities in line with their interests and priorities. Where they are not involved objectives and activities are directed by BFT (in consultation with interested members of the community) and they reflect what BFT consider to be appropriate for the community, tied closely to the BFT vision. There was no evidence that objectives suggested by BFT were contrary to the main interests of the communities and if there were conflicts, mutually satisfactory compromises seem to have been found. Although an element of the BFT vision is that some economic activities are carried out in the community woodlands to provide economic benefits, this is generally not shared, or at least not pursued, by the community groups. It appears to be more attractive or feasible for community groups to apply for grants and to raise money from membership than to develop enterprises. This may reflect the education and skills of the people involved if they are characteristic of the Borders population who were said to be generally well educated but lacking in practical skills.

There was a marked contrast between the approaches taken by the Forestry Commission Scotland Borders District, which manages the Public Estate in the Borders, and the private Bowhill estate. Both managed a mixed estate with large areas of commercial plantation and some mixed woodlands managed also for amenity and pursued 'multi-purpose forestry'. The Scottish nation and public are the customers of Forestry Commission Scotland, which is funded by the exchequer which, if it is justified, will support non-commercial forestry operations if the public benefit is demonstrated. In contrast, for Bowhill estate, although public benefits provided are in-part compensated for through standard grants, in general far more attention has to be paid to customers who actually pay for products. There is considerable effort being put into developing new products and much of the

justification for non commercial forestry is that it supports other estate enterprises and is part of the stewardship ethic of the Duke of Buccleugh.

5.6.2 Linkages, synergies, conflicts

Several examples of linkages and synergies between groups or enterprises were found. Informal partnerships and links between the body managing the woodland and other civil society groups were being used to add value to woodlands and make ventures viable. The arrangements and work carried out by the groups result in planting and path building. BFT have a number of informal arrangements with groups such as Dovetail (for unemployed 18 – 25 yr olds), Community Service, and Scottish Wildlife Trust. In general such groups come to the woodlands for particular activities. They use the woods for training or development purposes and in return assist in woodland management, hence the woodland is enhanced and the assisting organisation benefits from a forum for training or development. Other groups come for educational trips such as museums or archeological groups. FCS are also keen to increase access for voluntary sector groups and work with the Scottish Association for Mental Health (SAMH), cubs, guides and others. Lindean community woodland works with local schools. These arrangements are embedded in strong networks amongst voluntary sector organisations and established links. They allow all parties to pursue their organisation's or group's objectives with little economic cost and show synergies between these organisations.

Other woodland operations that require professional skills or other services are often facilitated by informal arrangements between BFT and contractors or other local enterprises. These arrangements usually overcome the need for BFT or community groups to have to pay for the service and exist on a basis of 50/50 (or similar) split of the product. These range from arrangements with firewood or charcoal enterprises to using storage facilities on neighbouring estates, such as Bowhill.

Bowhill was found to have strong links, both 'intra-estate department links' and links to the forestry sector out with the estate. The type of woodland asset on the estate is linked to the needs of the livestock, game and public visiting the house. Also, when

possible, cross-subsidisation between estate departments was used to buffer enterprises. These links demonstrate the 'self regulatory' nature of mixed farms or estates systems where the needs of individual enterprises regulate each other to a certain extent. The Bowhill interviewee also said that they benefited from membership of a number of different groups and networks and being 'well connected' to the sector which gave them up to date information and contacts. It was felt that these linkages worked both ways and that Bowhill was often used as a 'test case' for various ideas or schemes. The capacity to benefit from these types of linkages is linked to capacity and resources as maintaining them is time consuming for the Estate.

As well as linkages and synergies, several conflicts can be identified. Firstly a dilemma was identified by one community woodland representative between social benefits for the group and economic benefits for local enterprises. Concern was voiced that, though voluntarily carrying out planting and maintenance work in their woodland, they were not providing employment or supporting the local economy. This could be described as a tension between the objectives of creating social capital and other social benefits for a group and a more traditional rural development objective of creating employment.

Another tension was observed from BFT's perspective whereby, although their vision is to promote wider community involvement in forestry and woodlands, which necessarily includes other agencies embracing the importance of community involvement and changing their practices, there was some feeling of unease about FCS embarking on community engagement activities which were felt to be BFT territory. Also, in their keenness to create 'community woodlands', BFT have taken on initiatives that have little potential in becoming sustainable community woodlands of the type envisioned by the organisation (although this observation is perhaps less relevant to the way that BFT now work). Finally, an issue identified by two community woodlands was the conflict experienced between wanting to establish a 'community wood' with improved access but, on the other hand, not wanting too

many people to use it. This leads on to discussions of ‘who is the community’?, which will be explored further in Chapter 7.

5.6.3 Governance

The research encountered a variety of governance structures which were often developed in order to access various resources - human, natural and financial. Creative arrangements deployed often made an operation viable or enabled more people to benefit.

Partnership arrangements were being used to add value to the forestry resource with the forest owning partner drawing in other partners who have valuable areas of expertise. FCS had seemingly successful partnership arrangements with several organisations: with BFT to enhance the biodiversity and community involvement aspects of their woods, with Kailzie Gardens and the RSPB for an environmental tourism project and with the Hub at Glentress for a mountain biking centre.

These arrangements were initiated by FCS, although an external agency, Tweed Forum, was very instrumental in the establishment of (at least) one of them. It appeared that key individuals were important in establishing these partnerships and an employee of FCS was said to have been very good at making contacts and finding creative means of realising potential. Also, with the resources, especially information resources, available to them from FCS, the person was often able to pursue the identified opportunity; demonstrating what Goodwin (Goodwin, 1998) described as having the ‘power to’ get things done or make things happen. Additionally, the partnership arrangements between FCS and BFT for the joint management of the Tweed Valley Forest Park Community Woodlands were found to be embedded in good relations, trust and respect for the partners.

Contacts and networks are very important in establishing partnerships and umbrella type organisations, such as BFT or Tweed Forum, were said to be very helpful. Constraints depend on the nature of each partnership and its aims. An interviewee suggested that partnership working in the private sector was said to require a ‘shift in

culture’ as private enterprises have not generally worked together in close arrangements.

Two of the community woodlands, Lindean and Darnick, had community woodland associations supported by strong links to BFT and horizontal links to other community woodland groups in the Borders through the Borders Woodland forum. The other community woodlands were managed by BFT who had links with informal groups or key individuals within the communities. In both cases the community participation element is strongly dependent on BFT support, a key agency in the creation and support of community woodlands in the Scottish Borders. The new governance agenda has enabled BFT, to make creative arrangements with owners of land and community groups and facilitate community access to the management and use of woodland and the associated benefits and planting of native species and habitat enhancement.

5.6.4 Tailoring the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The discussions in this chapter show the relevance of elements of the SLA to forestry and rural development. Different organisations and agencies operate with the opportunities and constraints imposed by the physical, social and natural endowments of the Borders region plus additional constraints or opportunities presented by wider factors such as markets and international policy.

In particular the following observations from the Scoping Phase feed in to the development of a framework tailored to the needs of this research project:

- A range of types of capital were relevant to the potential of the forestry sector in the Borders to contribute to rural development;
- A range of overlapping governance arrangements were in use to manage forestry;
- The relevance of the history of governance arrangements and motivations of parties involved were important;

- There was use of governance arrangements and other mechanisms to restructure woodland, improve access to woodland, coordinate the management of woodland and facilitate exchange of woodland products;
- The sustainability of the governance arrangements was an issue;
- There was synergy between operations and informal arrangements which are vital for some functions;
- The transaction costs, especially information costs, involved in the process of rural development can be considerable.

In light of the critique of the SLA in Chapter 3 and the review of other relevant literature along with the results of the Scoping Phase of the project, the SLA was adjusted to relate more directly to the purpose of analysing forestry in Scotland. The modified framework, Fig 5.1, provides an approach through which to view and analyse the role of forestry in rural development and the factors which contribute to that role. It includes important and relevant factors and demonstrates linkages, while being simple enough to allow it to be of practical use. For the sake of diagrammatic representation, aspects of the analysis framework are presented in boxes. In reality, as will become apparent, the borders between boxes are often blurred.

The framework follows the SLA in its inclusion of vulnerability context; capital assets; and transforming structures. The processes element of the ‘transforming structures and processes’ in the original SLA is removed to reduce confusion. In this study the word ‘process’ will be used to describe the interaction between transforming structures and capital assets in the vulnerability context. Transforming structures are taken to include governance, policies and mechanism or arrangements which are examined with regard to how they were formed, their interrelationships and the level at which they operate. In another departure from the original SLA, culture is considered a form of capital or asset, rather than a transforming structure. Although it is relevant to both ‘boxes’, it was felt to more appropriate to situate it with inherent building blocks that reside in the unit of analysis, rather than amongst structures. The framework shows transforming structures interacting with assets (forms of capital), under the influence of external factors, to give outputs which are

divided into four main types: creation of assets, access to assets, coordination of assets and exchange of assets.

The framework follows that of the SLA in its inclusion of vulnerability context; capital assets; and transforming structures. Forestry was considered to be vulnerable to external factors such as trends, shocks and seasonality which are included as in the SLA Framework. Relevant assets are natural capital in terms of the existing forest resource, the quality of the land and other natural constraints to land use, physical capital in terms of the infrastructure, human capital in terms of the technical and other knowledge to add value to and maximise the use of the forest resource; social capital in terms of the resources available to capitalise on opportunities for community involvement and other activities that require cooperation; financial capital in terms of access to funds to plant and manage woodlands and woodland activities and, lastly, an additional asset, cultural capital, is included as an important resource to the unit of analysis in terms of the inclination to use and add value to the forest resource.

As described in 3.4.6 there is a lack of clarity surrounding the ‘Policies, Institutions and Processes’ or ‘Transforming structures and processes’ element of the SLA. In the modified framework it is referred to as Transforming Structures as the word process is used to describe the interaction between Transforming Structures and Capital Assets in the Vulnerability context. The Transforming Structures include governance (the bodies involved in the management of woodlands and the arrangements between them); policies (from the national to the local); and specific mechanisms and arrangements for different operations. These are examined in terms of how they have been formed, the level or scale at which they operate and the interrelationships between them.

In the SLA individuals/groups have strategies which are linked to outcomes. This research is exploring specific examples of projects which tend to focus on planned outputs which have intended outcomes and it was felt to be important to distinguish between outputs and outcomes. The classification of outputs into asset creation,

access to assets, coordination of assets and asset exchange, as suggested by Morrison *et al.* (2000), was found to be useful. With regard to forestry, creation of assets includes planting woodland or restructuring to change the woodland resource; access to assets includes access to the rights over woodland such as management or recreation; asset coordination includes the grouping together of individual woodland assets to achieve economies of scale and increased efficiency, and asset exchange includes exchange of woodland products. Outputs have the potential to give rise to outcomes, economic, environmental and social (as discussed in 3.2) which, in turn, often feed back into changed levels of capital.

The SLA makes no explicit reference to sustainability or to the dynamic nature of the development process over time. It was felt to be important to highlight these as elements of any analysis of forestry and rural development. Lastly the importance of transaction costs is also made explicit as a key constraint which should be considered in any analysis of the development process.

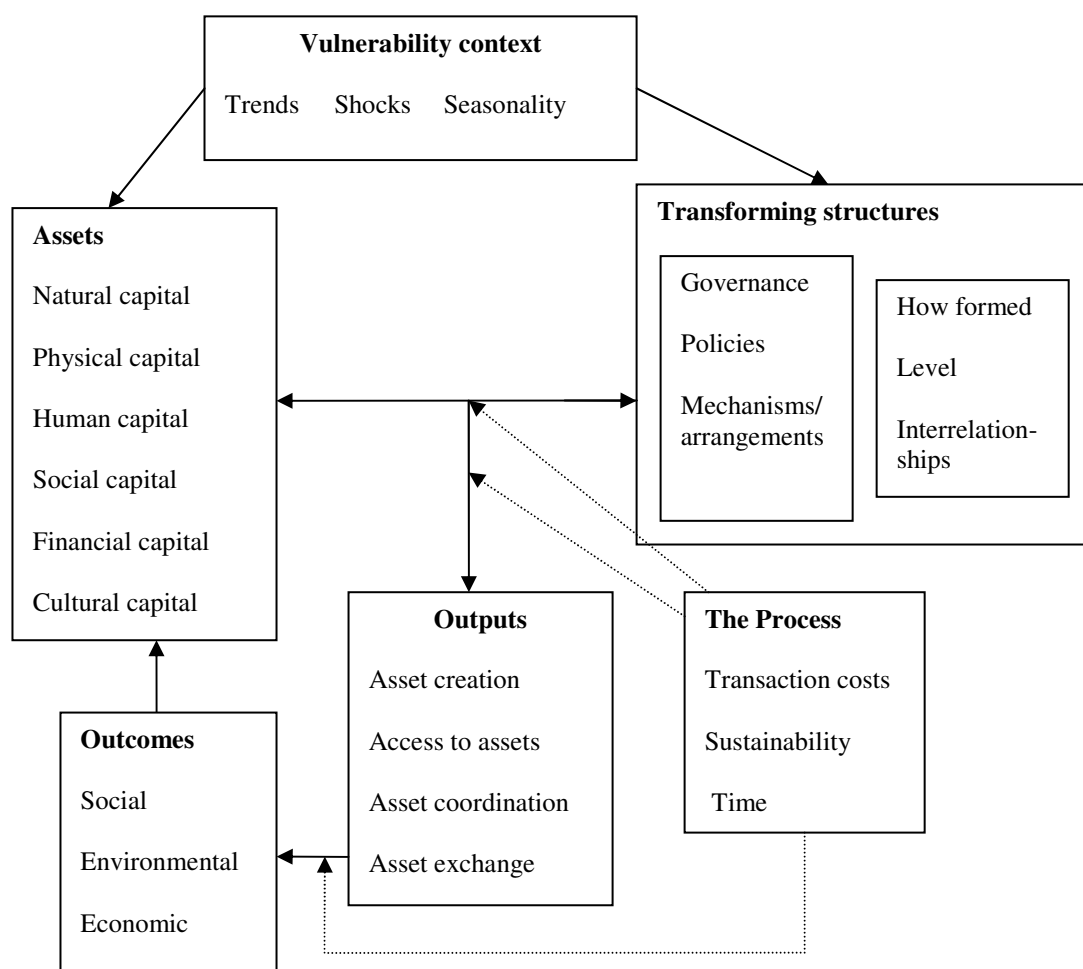


Fig. 5.1. An adapted SLA framework

This framework was used to guide the case studies and to structure the main discussion chapter, chapter 7.

5.6.5 Areas for further research

This Scoping Phase suggests some lines of enquiry which are not pursued further by this study, but which may offer potential areas for future research:

- The concepts and notions of sustainability in the forestry sector.
- New business partnerships emerging around new products.
- The role of informal partnerships and arrangements to make small scale wood operations viable.
- Changing relationships between forestry and farming.

CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDIES – THE SOCIAL BENEFITS OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

6.1 Introduction

The case studies investigate the social benefits of community involvement. This phase of the study is embedded in the understanding derived from the stakeholder survey and its design draws on the exploration of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. The stakeholder survey provided understanding of a selection of community woodlands, their governance, the organisations involved, the special arrangements and other management mechanisms used and the general aspirations of the communities. It also unveiled interactions between different elements of the forestry sectors and the position that the community woodland initiatives have with regard to the rest of the sector. This provided the context in which the more narrowly focused case studies were explored. The modified SLA fed into the design of the interviews and survey questionnaires for the case studies to draw out information on the factors important in the process of rural development and to understand the routes to benefits being delivered.

This chapter does not provide a full analysis of the delivery of social benefits suggested by the modified framework. Rather, this chapter focuses on assessing the levels and distribution of social benefits and exploring the local natural and social capital and governance settings for each initiative. The stakeholder survey collected information on ‘vulnerability context’ for forestry enterprises in the Borders, ‘capital assets’ for the Borders as a whole and some of the wider transforming structures. In chapter 7, the results of the case studies will be discussed according to the modified SLA, combining information from the stakeholder survey and the case studies.

Information was gathered from four case studies. Please refer back to chapter 4 for justification of the approach and methods used. The four case studies are written up individually and included in annex 2. There are similarities and differences between the four initiatives. There are three community woodlands, two of which are community owned (Wooplaw and Gordon). There are two partnership projects (Glenkinnon and Osprey project). Two initiatives have ‘local communities’ (Gordon

and Glenkinnon) and two have ‘communities of interest’ (Wooplaw and Ospreys). The initiatives span a range of ages with Wooplaw being established 19 years ago, Glenkinnon 6 years ago, Gordon 4 years ago and the Osprey project 3 years ago.

Key individuals from the initiatives and any partner organisations were interviewed and a survey was carried out with those involved in the initiatives and the associated local communities where they existed. See Chapter 4, Table 4.4 for details.

6.2 *Comparing the woodlands, communities and management*

Section 6.2 compares in more detail the woodlands, their communities and their management. The information for these sections mainly comes from interviews with the key people from each of the four initiatives, interviews with individuals in the main partner organisations and observation of the woodlands and their surroundings.

6.2.1 Natural capital: The woodlands and their settings

The map in annex 3 shows the locations of the four case studies. Each of the community woodlands is a mixture of mature woodland (existing natural capital) and areas planted (asset creation) since the sites became community woods.

Gordon community wood is 210 ha. About 5% of the wood is mature stands of mixed hardwoods and conifers the remaining being young trees (native species) some of which were planted by the previous owners and some planted since it became a community wood in 2002. It lies to the East of the village of Gordon with direct access from the centre of the village via a farm track. Gordon is surrounded by farmland and lacks access into the countryside and related recreational opportunities.

Established in 2000, Glenkinnon community wood is 10.6 ha and situated on one side of a steep valley. It is divided between the lower section of the valley, felled and planted with native broadleaves, and the upper section which is mature Sitka Spruce waiting to be felled by the Forestry Commission into which there is no access. It is adjacent to the settlement of Caddonfoot. There is FC woodland

adjacent to the community wood with access and other paths for countryside walks near by into the hills and along the Tweed.

Wooplaw was the first community owned woodland in Scotland, established in 1987. It is 23 ha and a mixture of mature stands of mixed hardwoods and conifers and more recently planted areas of native broadleaves and willow. There is no adjacent community. The surrounding area is mostly hill farms and scattered small woodlands.

The Osprey Centres opened in 2003 and are situated just outside Peebles, one at Glentress Forest and the other at Kailzie Gardens. Glentress is mainly Sitka Spruce where as at Kailzie Gardens there is some policy woodland and park land.

Table 6.1. The woods and surrounding area

	Gordon	Glenkinnon	Wooplaw	Osprey
Woods	210 ha. 5 % mature, 95 % newly planted. Access very good.	10.6 ha. Newly planted plus further area to be developed. Access, but steep path.	23 ha. Mostly mature with additional areas planted. Access very good.	Mature spruce at Glentress and policy woodlands and parkland at Kailzei Gardens. Good access at both.
Surrounding countryside	Good quality farmland.	Mixture of woodland and farmland which is mainly pasture.	Hill farmland with scattered small woodlands.	Mixture of woodland and farmland which is mainly pasture.

6.2.2 Comparing the ‘communities’: Social and human capital

The case studies cover different types of ‘community’. For Gordon and Glenkinnon Community woodlands there is an easily identifiable local community in close proximity to the wood. The village of Gordon has approximately 200 households and mixed in terms of housing types and population and has a number of local contractors and trades people. It is a compact village with a village shop, a bowling club, a primary school and a play park. Caddonfoot, which adjoins Glenkinnon Community Wood, is a small dispersed village of about 45 houses. It is dominated by a new development of approximately 25 large houses on the old Peel hospital site which have mainly attracted retired and professional people. There is a primary school and a village hall.

For Wooplaw Community Woodland and the Osprey Project, there is no discrete local community for whom the project is intended and so the community becomes one of interest. Those involved in the Wooplaw Community Wood come from nearby towns and villages. The nearest village is Langshaw about 3 miles away and the wood is within 7 miles of Lauder, Stow and Galashiels. The Osprey project attracts a specific interest group. Most volunteers (70%) come from Peebles, a small town 2 miles from the Centres. The population was said to be relatively affluent with a high proportion of retired people.

Table 6.2. The communities

	Gordon	Glenkinnon	Wooplaw	Ospreys
Type of community	Community of place.	Community of place.	(mainly) local community of interest.	Local community of interest.
Neighbouring settlements	Wood adjacent to village of Gordon. About 200 house holds, mixed, compact.	Wood adjacent to Caddonfoot. About 45 house holds, dominated by new housing development.	No adjacent settlement. Within 7 miles of Stowe, Lauder and Galashiels	Both centres within 2 miles of Peebles. Small affluent town.

6.2.3 Comparing the governance structures and degrees of community involvement

Governance, including community management, is included in the transforming structures box in the modified SLA. An element of community involvement, participation in decision making and/or management, was a pre-cursor to selection of cases, but this varies across the cases.

Wooplaw is a long established (1987) community woodland, owned by the Wooplaw Community Woodland Trust and managed by a group of ‘wardens’, who are from nearby towns and villages. Although reliant on external funding, the group is reasonably self sufficient in terms of having the knowledge and skills to manage the wood and arrange events.

Gordon Community Wood is also owned by a community woodland trust and managed by a group of local people. Established in 2002, the local group is less experienced than that of Wooplaw and Gordon Community Wood Trust is much

more reliant on external bodies for assistance, particularly benefiting from advice and support from BFT.

Glenkinnon Community Wood is managed by a joint management board involving BFT and FCS. Management plans were discussed with the community at an initial meeting before the community woodland was established, but the community has not been actively involved in management decisions. There is no formal community group, although a group of interested people usually attend work parties and events and are points of contact for BFT.

A community of interest participate in the Osprey project which is managed by FCS, RSPB and Kailzie Gardens. The community involvement is mainly in the form of staffing the Osprey Centres during the breeding season, but also in helping with woodland management work to support the project and providing feedback and advice on project improvement. The group is not ‘self organising’ and relies on a dedicated staff member to organise the volunteering sessions and the other events.

Table 6.3. Governance

	Gordon	Glenkinnon	Wooplaw	Ospreys
Governance	Owned by a community trust. Community managed with considerable support from BFT.	Part of the Public Estate and managed jointly by FC, BFT and, ostensibly, the community. No community group. Low levels of participation.	Owned by a community trust. Managed by the wardens and largely self reliant apart from external funding.	Managed by FCS, RSPB and Kailzie Gardens. Group of volunteers with high levels of participation, but not self-organising.

6.2.4 Objectives and activities

With regard to the modified SLA, Fig 5.1, objectives relate to (local) policies in the transforming structures box of the modified SLA and feed into activities which are often considered outputs. Although worded differently, the objectives of the cases are similar. Table 6.4 compares what was explicitly mentioned as objectives by key people involved in each project.

Table 6.4. Management objectives

Objective area	Gordon	Glenkinnon	Wooplaw	Ospreys
Promote/ enhance wildlife/ biodiversity.	yes	yes	yes	yes
Promote development of native woodland.	no	yes	yes	no
Encourage public use/ enjoyment	yes	yes	yes	yes
Encourage participation/sense of ownership.	no	yes	no	yes
Encourage local economic activity.	no	yes	yes	yes
Make the woods available for education and training.	no	no	yes	no
Promote a woodland culture.	no	no	yes	no
Improve relations between FCS and public.	no	no	no	yes

To promote or enhance wildlife is an objective of all four cases as is to encourage public use. To encourage local economic activity is an objective of all the cases apart from Gordon. To promote the development of native woodland is explicitly mentioned by Glenkinnon and Wooplaw. It could also be encompassed by the biodiversity/wildlife objective and, although not mentioned by Gordon, all new planting at Gordon Community Wood is of native species. To encourage participation / sense of ownership was mentioned by Glenkinnon Community Wood and the Osprey project. Wooplaw Community Wood is the only case to explicitly mention education and training and to promote a woodland culture in its objectives. Finally, to improve public relations for FCS is an objective of the Osprey volunteer project.

For each of the community woodlands, main activities have been tree planting and improving access. Wooplaw has installed a number of additional facilities such as the log cabin and tree nursery. Gordon has put up bird boxes and constructed a pond to enhance wildlife. Each of the case studies holds events such as wildlife walks. These are compared in more detail later in this section. Newsletters are produced and distributed by Wooplaw and Gordon Community Woodlands.

6.3 The data sets

As explained in Chapter 4, the questionnaire was used with two main respondent groups. First, those who were targeted as known to be involved in the management

or running of initiatives and, second, the local communities to Gordon and Glenkinnon community woods, where every nth household was approached.

Therefore respondents from Gordon and Glenkinnon were a mixture of targeted respondents (those known to be involved in the initiative) and the wider community whereas those from Wooplaw and the Osprey project, which don't have adjoining 'local communities', were all targeted, known to be involved in the project.

In Tables 6.5 – 6.7 these two data sets, targeted and local community, (across the four case studies) are compared in terms of age, length of time that they have lived in the area and gender. There is some variation in the n values due to questions being omitted, which applies throughout this chapter.

Table 6.5. Respondent population and age

	Age			
	10 - 35	36 - 50	51 - 65	66 +
Targeted (n=53)	2 (4%)	7 (13%)	23 (43%)	21 (40%)
Local community (n=39)	2 (10%)	17 (42%)	14 (34%)	6 (15%)

Table 6.6. Respondent population and length of time lived in area

	Length of time lived in area			
	6 mo – 5 yrs	5 – 10 yrs	10 – 20 yrs	20 + yrs
Targeted (n=53)	10 (19%)	11 (21%)	14 (26%)	18 (34%)
Local community (n=41)	14 (34%)	9 (22%)	9 (22%)	9 (22%)

Table 6.7. Respondent population and gender

	Gender	
	M	F
Targeted (n=51)	26 (51%)	25 (49%)
Local community (n=41)	7 (17%)	34 (83%)

The data suggest that in the targeted respondent population younger people and newer residents are under represented and older people and longer standing residents are over represented compared to the wider community. There are roughly equal numbers of men and women in the targeted respondent set, but the wider community sample includes a significantly higher proportion of women than men.

Table 6.8 explores the degree to which this gender imbalance in the local community population occurs in the two case studies with local communities, Gordon and Glenkinnon.

Table 6.8. Local community and gender

	Gender	
	M	F
Gordon local community	4 (14%)	24 (86%)
Glenkinnon local community	3 (23%)	10 (77%)
Total	7 (17%)	34 (83%)

There is an imbalance in both Gordon and Glenkinnon, although it is more extreme in Gordon. Interviews in Glenkinnon were carried out during weekdays which can explain the higher proportion of women encountered than men. However, at Gordon, interviews were carried out during a weekend and there is no clear explanation for the imbalance.

This large imbalance in gender potentially gives rise to a bias in the results if women have different attitudes or behave differently in terms of the areas being explored by this survey. In section 6.6 where some of the key findings are explored, any effect of this bias will be analysed.

6.4 Levels of participation and use

Levels of participation and use relate to ‘access to assets’ in the output box of the modified SLA. In 6.4 access to assets is discussed in terms of levels of involvement in management, participation in work day and events and levels of use of the woods

6.4.1 Management

Table 6.9 describes the profile of interviewees involved in managing or running the initiatives, including most of the committee members at Gordon, regular attendees at Glenkinnon work days, most of the wardens at Wooplaw and a selection of the Osprey volunteers.

Table 6.9. Profile of those involved

	Gordon %	Glenkinnon %	Wooplaw %	Ospreys %
Gender				
Male	50	50	43	53
Female	50	50	57	47
Length of time lived in area				
6 mo – 2 yrs	13	17	14	3
2 – 5 yrs		17		16
5 – 10 yrs	38	17	29	13
10 – 30 yrs	25	33	57	53
30 + yrs	25			16
<i>mean</i>	18	8	12	20
Age				
1 – 20		17		
21 – 35	13			
36 – 50		50	43	3
51 – 65	62	33	43	41
66 +	25		14	56
Number of respondents	n = 8	n = 6	n = 7	n = 32

For Gordon, Glenkinnon and Wooplaw, efforts were made to interview all ‘involved’ people. For Gordon they were identified as committee members and 8/8 were interviewed. For Glenkinnon involved people were those that usually attended workdays and 6/8 were interviewed. For Wooplaw involved people were described as wardens and were those that usually attended meetings and participated in work days and 7/9 were interviewed. For the Osprey project all volunteers were considered involved and all were targeted, with 32/39 being interviewed/responding. Although the ‘involved’ respondent set was not complete or random, the table suggests that being involved is attractive to, and possible for, men and women, older and newer residents and a range of ages. The average time lived in the area of those involved in Gordon and Glenkinnon is similar to the average time lived in the area of the local community respondent sets for these communities (Gordon: 19 yrs, Glenkinnon: 8 yrs). Gordon and the Osprey project have older people involved than Glenkinnon and Wooplaw. The Osprey project asks volunteers to do 3hr day-time shifts during the breeding season and so is more attractive to retired people or others who are not working. On the other hand, ‘Good for children’ was one of the main reasons for involvement (see below) for Gordon and Glenkinnon attracting families and the parents of children.

Interviewees were asked what their motivations for involvement had been. This was an open ended question and respondents could give more than one response. For example, the 8 respondents from Gordon gave a total of 20 responses. The figures in the table represent the % of respondents giving that reason.

Table 6.10. Reasons for involvement in projects

Reason for involvement	Gordon %	Glenkinnon %	Wooplaw %	Ospreys %
Interest in wildlife	38	29	43	77
Interest in woodland	13	43	29	
Desire for amenity	13	43		
Good for children		43	57	
Special place	13		43	16
Concern about use of land	38	14		
To benefit village or community	38	29		
Wish to contribute		14		19
Approve of project	25			10
Social	13	14	29	3
Wanted involvement in something (local)	25		43	13
Other interest	38			3
Number of respondents	n=8	n=7	n=7	n=31

The table shows that people wanted to be involved in the case studies for a variety of reasons. In Gordon the main emphases were an interest in wildlife: *'preserving local wildlife'*, to benefit the village: *'thought it would be good for the village'*, and concern about use of that piece of land: *'wanted to bring it into the village rather than someone else buy it and it be private'*. Also significant reasons were approval of the project and wanting to be involved in something local: *'to meet people'*, *'to get involved in the community'*. At Glenkinnon there was more interest in woodland and trees: *'native woodlands'*, the amenity that it could provide and because it was felt to be good for the children: *'activities for children'*. Children were the main motivation for involvement at Wooplaw: *'a good place to bring children'*, followed by a wish to get involved in something local, an attachment to the place and an interest in wildlife: *'had only been here a couple of years, .. something nice to get involved in'*, *'lovely place, inspired by open day'*, *'interested in conservation'*. Amongst the Osprey volunteers an interest in birds and wildlife was the major reason for involvement: *'interest in birds generally and in ospreys in particular'*.

6.4.2 Levels of awareness and interest

The local communities (other than those known to be involved) at Gordon and Glenkinnon were asked whether they knew about the respective community woods and whether they were interested in them. This was a closed question.

Table 6.11. Levels of awareness and interest

	Gordon %	Glenkinnon %
Awareness		
Aware of wood	100	100
Aware of community involvement	100	50
Level of interest		
Interested	71	75
A little interested	21	25
Not interested	8	0
Total number	n=24	n=12

In both communities everyone knew about the respective woods. In Gordon, everyone knew that the wood was a community wood, with community involvement. However, at Glenkinnon only half the respondents were aware that there was an element of community participation in the Wood. In both cases, over 70% were interested in the wood. At Glenkinnon, all respondents were interested in the initiative, implying that although not everyone knew about the initiative, there is a 'receptive' community. At Gordon, 8% (2 respondents) said that they were not interested in the woodland.

6.4.3 Why people visit and their associations

All respondents from the woodland initiatives were asked for what purpose they visited the woods. This was an open question and respondents could give more than one response. Responses were classified into the categories in Table 6.12 which shows the proportion of respondents mentioning each category.

Table 6.12, and many of the subsequent tables displays the data in 6 columns – 'Gordon targeted', 'Gordon community', 'Glenkinnon targeted', 'Glenkinnon community', 'Wooplaw' and 'Osprey' which relate to responses from the Gordon targeted respondent set, the Gordon local community respondent set, the Glenkinnon

targeted respondent set, the Glenkinnon local community respondent set, the wooplaw respondent set which was all targeted and the Osprey project respondent set which was also all targeted.

Table 6.12. Reasons for visiting

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Walks	88	86	57	100	57	58
Nature/wildlife	13	27	29		14	
Events	13	18	14		100	
Working	50				100	
Bring children		9			14	
Fresh air		9				
Peace and quiet		9			14	
Exercise	13	5	14			
Observe trees		5	14	11		
Scenery				22		
Bring visitors					29	
Staff the centres						100
Leisure/recreation			29			
Other			29			
Total number	n=8	n=22	n=7	n=9	n=7	n=31

To go for a walk was the main reason given by respondents at Gordon and Glenkinnon: *‘walking the dog’*, *‘a quiet walk’*, *‘walking’*. At Wooplaw the two most significant reasons given by the wardens were for work and events: *‘mainly work’*, *‘for the Sunday events and meetings’*. Amongst the osprey volunteers everyone came to staff the centres and nearly 60% also went for a walk. The two (29%) responses falling into the ‘other’ category for Glenkinnon were: *‘to get out’* and *‘meet people’*.

All respondents were asked to give three words or phrases which they associated with the project (open question) which were then categorised according to the headings in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13. Associations with the projects

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Peaceful	13	59	57	29	43	
Access to the countryside	50	32		14		
Beautiful/special	25	27		71	43	
Wildlife/nature		36	14	29		
Educational /interesting	25	32	43			70
Social / friendly					43	
Trees			14		14	
Rewarding	13				14	25
Community*	13	5	29		14	
Regeneration / future	25		22	57		
Captivating			43			18
Local asset	13		14			18
Enjoyable						15
Hard work	13					
Total number	n=8	n=22	n=7	n=7	n=6	n=30

* ‘Community’ associations were positive for Gordon but negative for Glenkinnon where they were ‘community involvement ?’ and ‘community spirit lacking’

- ‘Peaceful’ ranked highly for the three community woodlands: *‘away from business of every day life’, ‘peaceful’, ‘quiet’*.
- The access to the countryside it affords was also a main association for Gordon: *‘near by’, ‘a joy to walk in’*; as was wildlife, that it is interesting/educational and that it is beautiful/special: *‘a wonderful place to go’*.
- Beautiful/special was a main association for Wooplaw: *‘magical place’, ‘special’*, as was social/friendly: *‘friends’*. Rewarding and trees were also mentioned.
- Beautiful/special was the main association for Glenkinnon: *‘beauty of nature’, ‘lovely views’*; followed by regeneration/future: *‘developing’, ‘regeneration’*; community: *‘community spirit lacking’*; wildlife: *‘animals, birds, insects, plants that I hadn’t seen before’*, and access to the countryside.
- Nearly 70% of respondents associated the osprey project with being interesting and educational: *‘to stimulate and develop interest’, ‘fascinating’*. Other significant associations were that it was rewarding, captivating, a local

asset and enjoyable: *'feel good factor'*, *'worthwhile'*, *'important asset in area'*, *'fun'*.

Looking at the main reasons for visiting the wood and the associations shows that:

- For Gordon and Glenkinnon by far the main reason for visiting is to go for a walk and the most cited associations are peaceful and beautiful /special.
- Access and wildlife are also highly cited for Gordon reflecting the importance of the wood for access to the countryside and nature. Educational / interesting is also mentioned frequently, reflecting the interpretive signs and high attendance at events.
- The other significant association for Glenkinnon is regeneration / future, probably reflecting the involvement in early tree planting and the stark change from a bare swathe of felled spruce to an area of young planted and self seeded native trees.
- For Wooplaw the main reason for the wardens to visit was working and events and one of the main associations was social / friendly, along with peaceful and beautiful /special.
- The main reason for visiting the Osprey project was to staff the centres and the main association was educational and interesting.

6.4.4 Use of the wood

a) Access to the wood

All the woods have good paths. Gordon, Glenkinnon and Wooplaw have had access improved since they became community woods. Glenkinnon community wood is on a bank and the path is steep in places and access is difficult for less able people.

There is very good access at Glentress and Kailzie Gardens, the sites of the Osprey Centres. All respondents were asked how frequently they visited the woodlands.

Table 6.14. Frequency of visiting the woods

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
At least 1/wk	63	21	50	46	14	59
1/wk – 1/mo	25	34	33	8	86	31
1/mo – 1/qua	12	10		8		6
Less		10	17	8		
Never		24		31		
Total number	n=8	n=29	n=6	n=13	n=7	n=32

Table 6.14 shows that use rates are generally high amongst the targeted interviewees and that levels are similar between Gordon and Glenkinnon, although a higher proportion of Glenkinnon respondents use the wood on an at least weekly basis. One might expect use to be higher at Gordon, where the wood is owned by the community, there is universal approval and support for the woodland and there are virtually no other opportunities for off-road walks, compared to Glenkinnon, where there are other opportunities for countryside walks and there is less involvement in the wood. However, the responses suggest that Glenkinnon community wood is used frequently with many people choosing to walk there regularly. This may in part be due to the nature of the people who chose to live in the area. All respondents from Glenkinnon were interested in the wood and several of them indicated that they had moved there because of a love for the countryside and outdoor activities: *‘we chose this location because of the woodland and the Tweed’*.

b) Taking part in work days and events

Information about the frequency of and attendance at work days and events was obtained from key people in each initiative. Work days are held regularly at Wooplaw and more sporadically at the other initiatives. At Wooplaw there are about 10 work days per year. Much of the work is carried out by the wardens, who have experience and a range of skills. At Gordon and Glenkinnon work days are less regular. At Glenkinnon there were a number of work days to plant trees in 2002 and then more in 2004 to clear and construct a path and do additional planting. Work days are organised by BFT and, although community members attended the tree planting days, the path clearing and construction was carried out by other voluntary groups, and no members of the community took part (these are not included in Table,

6.15). At Gordon heavy work is left to contractors, but there have been 7 work days since 2002 to plant trees, brash up and prune. In addition, two of the committee members mentioned doing on-going light work frequently when out in the wood. The Osprey project has a few work days a year to give the volunteers a chance to be involved in the practical side of habitat management.

Table 6.15. Number of people taking part in work days

		No. of work days	Total no. taking part	Average no. per work day
Gordon	2002 - 2005	7		estimate 7
Glenkinnon	2004	1	12	12
	2005	1	8	8
Wooplaw	2004	10		estimate 6
	2005	10		estimate 6
Osprey	2004	1	4	4
	2005	4	36	9

All the initiatives held events but, as with the work days, events are held much more frequently at Wooplaw than the other projects. At Wooplaw there are 10 craft events and 6 other events per year, organised by the Wardens. The halloween and Christmas events have become well known and attract many people. Attendance varies at other events. Two or three events per year are held at Gordon community wood, organised by the committee which are mostly about wildlife or plants although they also hold a Halloween event. Events have been very popular as shown in Table 6.16. Two or three events per year are also held at Glenkinnon which are organised by BFT and are usually related to the flora or fauna. Attendance tends to be low, in part because they are not well advertised. There are several events per year organised for the Osprey volunteers by the FC Environmental and Community Officer and often connected to wildlife in the Borders or other areas of interest requested by the volunteers. Usually between 10 and 20 volunteers attend events.

Table 6.16. Numbers of people attending events

		No. of events	Total no. attending	Average no. per event
Gordon	2004	4	158	40
	2005	2	95	48
Glenkinnon	2004	1	12	12
	2005	2	24	12
Wooplaw	2004	Information not available		
	2005			
Osprey	2004	4	76	19
	2005	4	84	21

The survey respondents, targeted and local community, were also asked how often they attended work days and events.

Table 6.17. Frequency of taking part in work days

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Usually	75		67		71	33
Sometimes	25	29	17	8	28	22
Never		71	17	92		44
Total number	n=8	n=28	n=6	n=12	n=7	n=9*

* The number of respondents for this question is very low because it was mistakenly omitted from 20 of the questionnaires for the Osprey project.

Table 6.17 suggests that at Gordon and Glenkinnon work day attendance rates are much higher amongst those involved in the initiatives than the local communities, especially in Glenkinnon. Attendance rates between the involved respondents for each initiative are similar for Gordon and Wooplaw, a bit lower for the Glenkinnon and considerably lower for the Osprey volunteers.

Table 6.18. Frequency of participating in events

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Usually	75	29	33		100	45
Sometimes	25	25	67	8		48
Never		46		92		7
Total number	n=8	n=28	n=6	n=12	n=7	n=31

At Gordon, most committee members usually go to events and over half the local community either usually or sometimes go. At Glenkinnon, rates of attendance are

lower. The Wooplaw wardens all usually attend events and the nearly all Osprey volunteers usually or sometimes go to the events.

All respondents other than those who had never been to work parties or events, were asked in what ways they felt they benefited from taking part in work days or attending events. This was an open question and responses were categorised.

Social / being part of a group was one of the most cited benefits of taking part in work days for the Osprey volunteers and Gordon: *'enjoy working with others'*, *'social contact'*, *'working with and meeting like-minded people'*.

For the Osprey project volunteers the other main benefit was that they were constructive and practical and also for Gordon it was satisfaction of contributing to the wood: *'contributing something constructive'*, *'mucking in'*, *'nice to do practical work'*, *'satisfaction of creating and managing a local amenity'*.

For Glenkinnon and Wooplaw the fact that work days were good for children and sense of achievement respectively were the most cited benefits: *'educational for children, we go back and look at the trees they planted'*, *'sense of achievement and satisfaction'*, with social /being part of a group and exercise being the second most mentioned benefits: *'exercise'*.

Contributing to the wood and education were also significant for those taking part in work days at Glenkinnon: *'learning about trees'*, *'pleasure of physical activity and thought that it will grow into something attractive'*.

Regarding events, for Gordon, Glenkinnon and the Osprey project, the two most cited benefits of attending events were that events were educational and social: *'learn interesting things'*, *'information on flora and fauna'*, *'meeting interesting people'*, *'bonding for volunteers'*.

At Wooplaw, social was the most cited benefit followed by fun: *'enjoy working with the children and preparing for the events'*. This may be a reflection of the types of events held by the different cases, although at Wooplaw there are a number of educational events, there is also more of an emphasis on the arts than in the other initiatives.

6.5 Social benefits

This sections looks at the specific social benefits being explored by this study. These were identified from the literature and explored in Chapter 3 and include social capital, skills and knowledge, connection and sense of belonging, cultural capital, and social inclusion. Several of these benefits were confirmed as being of importance to the Scottish Borders in the scoping phase, the stakeholder survey, particularly skills and knowledge and culture, both of which were identified as key constraints to the forestry sector contributing more to rural development.

After presentation of the data obtained, hypotheses are suggested about possible links between various factors and the level of social benefit. Where possible these links are tested using appropriate statistical tests. The whole data set is needed for the statistical tests as numbers are low but, given that there were two populations (the targeted and the local communities), trends in each are checked before combining them. Where trends are not similar, the data are not combined and the particular hypothesis not tested statistically.

The Pearsons Chi Square test is used when the data being tested are in a two by two table and the Linear by Linear association when there are more categories. The Fishers Exact test is used when two by two tables have one cell with an expected count of less than 5. If more than one cell for two by two tables, or any cells, for other tables had an expected count of less than 5, it is noted that numbers were too small to test the association. The standard two sided significance level is used so that results with a p value of 0.05 or less are considered to be statistically significant.

6.5.1 Indicators for social capital

a) Friends

Interviewees from the woodland initiatives were asked whether they had made friends and, if so, whether they had made close friends as a result of the community involvement initiatives.

Table 6.19. Friends made

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Made friends	92	36	100	8	100	81
Made close friends	25	30	0	0	86	23
Total number	n=8	n=23	n=6	n=12	n=7	n=32

Looking at the Gordon and Glenkinnon community columns the proportion making friends was considerably higher at Gordon. This is likely to be a reflection of the frequency with which people from the village were drawn together through events as mentioned in section 6.4.4. At Glenkinnon, although the few people who were involved had all made friends, the wider community attended fewer events, largely using the wood for walks, and so have little opportunity to make friends through the wood.

The high proportion of respondents from Wooplaw who had made close friends is likely to reflect the longevity of the project, the length of time that many of the wardens had been involved, their strong commitment to the project and the frequency of work days. The Osprey volunteers come into contact with other volunteers when they started and finished their shifts, but only occasionally gathered at events and work days and so, although most had made friends, only a few had made close friends. At Glenkinnon, although all those involved had made friends no one had made close friends. This may reflect firstly that many people were new to the area (mean years lived in area - Glenkinnon: 8.3, Gordon:19.2, Wooplaw: 12.2, Ospreys: 20.4) and didn't previously know other people in the community which resulted in friends being made but, secondly, the low levels of involvement and little time spent together has meant that close friendships had not been formed. The targeted involved respondents from Gordon had mostly made friends, but again only a few had made

close friends. Although the committee worked closely together, this was a relatively young project and several of the committee members already knew each other.

In this section it is suggested that making friends might be associated with going to events, being involved in the project, length of time individuals have been involved in a project, length of time lived in the area, taking part in work days. We suggested that making close friends might be associated with involvement, taking part in work days and the length of time people had been involved. Testing these hypotheses found:

- A statistically significant association between participating in events and making friends with 36 (61%) who usually go to events making friends versus 19 (32%) who sometimes go to events making friends versus 4 (7%) who never go to events making friends ($p < 0.0001$).
- A statistically significant association was found between being involved in the management or running of the project and making friends with 47 (78%) of those who were involved making friends versus 13 (21%) of those who had not been involved making friends ($p < 0.0001$).
- Numbers were too small to test for length of time people had been involved and making friends.
- Trends between populations were too divergent for work days and making friends to be tested.
- A statistically significant association was found between involvement in management or running of the project and making close friends with 15 (83%) of those involved making close friends versus 3 (17%) of those who were not involved making close friends ($p 0.012$).
- A statistically significant association was found between those taking part in work days and making close friends with 9 (75%) of those who go to work days making close friends versus 3 (25%) of those who don't go to work days making close friends ($p 0.043$).
- Numbers were too small to test for an association between length of time involved and making close friends.

- Trends between populations were too divergent for length of time lived in area and making friends to be tested.

See Table 6.24 for further details.

b) Contacts

Interviewees from the woodland initiatives were asked whether they had made useful contacts as a result of the initiatives and, if so, whether they had used them.

Interviewees were also invited to elaborate on what contacts had been used for.

Table 6.20. Contacts made

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Made contacts	50	43	83	17	74	56
Used contacts	50	29	50	8	59	31
Total number	n=8	n=21	n=12	n=6	n=7	n=31

Contacts could be made through being involved and attending group activities and events. Higher rates amongst the targeted/involved respondents compared to the local community for Gordon and Glenkinnon tend to support this. The high rates amongst those involved in Glenkinnon might be explained by the lack of previous contacts in the area for residents at Glenkinnon. This suggests possible associations between making contacts and being involved, participating in work days and events and the length of time people have lived in an area. Testing these hypotheses found:

- A statistically significant association between being involved and making contacts with 34 (79%) of those who were involved making contacts versus 9 (21%) of those who were not involved making contacts (p 0.001).
- A statistically significant association was found between going to events and making contacts with 26 (61%) of those who usually went to events making contacts versus 15 (35%) of those who sometimes went to events making friends versus 2 (5%) of those who never went to events making contacts (p < 0.0001).
- No statistically significant association was found between the length of time people had lived in an area and making contacts.

- Trends between populations were too divergent for work days and making contacts to test for this association.

See Table 6.24 for further details.

c) Leading on to involvement in other projects or initiatives.

Interviewees were asked whether, as a result of the initiative, they had become involved in any other projects and, if so, what they had become involved in.

Table 6.21. Leading on to other involvement

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Led on to other initiatives	15	13	15	0	28	19
Total number	n=6	n=24	n=6	n=10	n=7	n=32

Glenkinnon community column shows the lowest rate of people becoming involved in other initiatives, which might be linked to the lack of engagement or participation of this group. Wooplaw had the highest proportion of respondents who had become involved in other initiatives due to the woodland. This is likely to be linked to the long and close involvement of the wardens. This suggests that being involved and/or participating in work days or events and the time people had been involved in the initiative might be linked to people becoming involved in other projects. However, no statistically significant association was found between involvement in the woodland initiatives and involvement in further initiatives and numbers were too small to test for the other suggested associations.

Osprey project volunteers had generally been led on to other bird related groups, in particular the local RSPB group. The Wooplaw wardens had become involved in other initiatives related to the environment and arts. For Glenkinnon the person had become involved in BFT related initiatives and for Gordon people had become involved in a mixture of BFT related and other community projects.

As well as gauging whether individuals had become involved in anything else, interviewees were asked whether they felt the initiative itself had resulted in spin offs or other projects. A few respondents from Gordon mentioned that, although they had not personally been involved in the Play park, its success was, in part, probably due to a boost in confidence in the village as a result of the success of the community woodland: *‘initiatives such as the community woodland build confidence, (people) realise what they can do.’*

Wooplaw has also had considerable spin offs. Being the first community owned wood in Scotland and the seeds of BFT, much of the community woodland movement in the Borders and further a field could be said to, in part, stem from Wooplaw. Experiences from the Osprey volunteer project have enabled FCS to develop other volunteering opportunities in response to interest and demand and led to useful connections with SWT groups, local rotaries, naturalists and a film maker.

d) Bringing people together

All interviewees were asked whether they felt the project was good at bringing the community together, compared to other clubs or community activities. Respondents were invited to expand upon their answers.

Table 6.22. Bringing people together

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Very good at bringing community together	38	29	17		0	20
Moderately good at bringing community together	63	54	17	20	67	43
Not particularly good at bringing community together		13	67	60	17	34
Don't know		4		20	16	3
Total number	n=8	n=24	n=6	n=10	n=7	n=32

Many people commented that it was the events which brought people physically together. Attendance at Gordon events tends to be much higher than attendance at Glenkinnon events explaining the feeling that Gordon community wood was better at

bringing people together: *‘a facility that appeals to all age groups’, ‘events brought all ages to the woodland from all walks of life’*. Also the success of Gordon wood and that it is a: *‘talking point’* in the village adds to the feeling that it brings the community together. At Wooplaw the woodland brings a small group of people with a strong interest and commitment closely together and it brings a large group of people from the area together several times a year at the popular events.

Respondents from the Osprey project had differing perspectives on whether it was good at bringing people together. Those who felt that it was less good found it a rather individual experience as volunteers tended to do their shifts and then leave: *‘(we) don’t meet as a group very often, it is not the purpose’*. On the other hand, other respondents felt that through attracting volunteers who share a deep interest and commitment, it did bring this disparate community of interest together: *‘shared pride’, ‘feel part of something growing and developing’*.

e) Trust

Respondents from the woodland initiatives were asked if, as a result of the woodland initiatives, their levels of trust had changed, either in the number of people they trusted, or in the degree that they trusted organisations. Respondents were invited to expand on their answers.

Table 6.23. Levels of trust

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
More people trusted	46	17	17		67	20
Less people trusted	0	4			0	0
No change	54	79	83	100	33	80
Increased trust in orgs	15	8	33		17	20
Decreased trust in orgs	0	0	0		0	0
No change	85	92	67	100	83	80
Total number	n=8	n=24	n=6	n=11	n=6	n=31

Interviewees reported that trust in people mainly developed through shared responsibility and working together: *‘You work as a team and rely on people’*.

This is supported by the higher rates of increase in trust amongst the involved respondents in Gordon and Glenkinnon than the local community. It also explains the higher rates of increased trust in Wooplaw and Gordon (targeted) where the groups have management responsibility and have to rely on the other people in the group to a higher degree than those involved in the Osprey project or Glenkinnon. The higher rate in Wooplaw might be due to the length of time that many of the wardens had been involved. One respondent from the Gordon wider community felt that the project had resulted in less people being trusted, being unsatisfied with the involvement of some local contractors. The high proportion of Glenkinnon respondents who felt no change in levels of trust as a result of the woodland, probably reflects the generally low levels of engagement in the project by the community.

This suggests that being involved in a project, taking part in work days and length of involvement might be associated with trusting more people. Testing these hypotheses found:

- A statistically significant association between involvement in the management and running of projects and more people trusted with 17 (90%) of those who were involved in projects finding that there were more people in whom they had trust versus 2 (11%) of those who were not involved finding that there were more people in whom they had trust (p 0.002).
- A statistically significant association between taking part in work days and more people trusted with 12 (80%) of those who took part in work days finding that there were more people in whom they had trust versus 3 (20%) of those who did not take part in work days finding that there were more people in whom they had trust (p 0.01).
- Numbers were too small to test for an association between time involved and more people trusted.

See Table 6.24 for further details.

Increase in trust or confidence in organisations was said to be largely due to the experience of working with BFT and the other agencies that funded and supported the initiatives: *‘positive experience with agencies ... impressed with the time people have given.’ ‘FC is very different to the past – very helpful and open to the public.’*

Respondents who had previously been sceptical about the agendas and helpfulness of agencies and funding bodies had generally had positive experiences regarding contacts with organisations as a result of the woodland initiatives. There was some increase in trust amongst those not directly involved with agencies which arose from seeing the results of the organisations’ involvement: *‘good to see plans come to fruition through commitment’*.

This suggests that being involved, which brings people into contact with agencies, might be associated with increase in trust in organisations. Testing this found a statistically significant association between being involved in running projects and increase in trust in organisations with 11 (92%) of those who were involved with increased trust in organisations versus 1 (8%) of those not involved with increased trust in organisations (p 0.023).

The higher levels of trust for Glenkinnon might be explained by the fact that the community wood is principally managed by two organisations, FCS and BFT, and there has been a stark change in the site from a Sitka spruce plantation to an area planted with indigenous broadleaves with access.

Table 6.24 gives further details of the tests that found statistically significant associations.

Table 6.24. Details of statistical tests – social capital

Association tested	Test used	Value	Degrees of freedom	Level of significance (2 sided)
Involvement in project – making friends	Pearsons Chi Square	25.8	1	< 0.0001
Participating in events – making friends	Linear by linear association	35.38	1	< 0.0001
Involvement in project – making close friends	Pearsons Chi Square	6.32	1	0.012
Taking part in work days – making close friends	Pearsons Chi Square	4.09	1	0.043
Involvement in project – making contacts	Pearsons Chi Square	11.73	1	0.001
Participating in events – making contacts	Linear by linear association	17.73	1	< 0.0001
Involvement in project – more people trusted	Pearsons Chi Square	9.20	1	0.002
Taking part in work days – more people trusted	Pearsons Chi Square	6.72	1	0.01
Involvement in project – increase in trust in organisations	Fishers Exact test			0.023

These findings provide indications of links between outputs, such as levels of participation, and outcomes - the social benefits being explored. They also provide insight into the paths of benefit delivery. This is taken up in more depth in the discussions in Chapter 7.

6.5.2 Skills and knowledge

The second area of social benefits explored is skills and knowledge. Table 6.25 gives the percentages of respondents who said that they had acquired knowledge and/or skills as a result of the woodland projects.

Table 6.25. Knowledge and skills acquired

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Knowledge/skills acquired	100	45	100	8	100	91
Total number	n=8	n=29	n=6	n=13	n=7	n=32

As events and work days are one of the main mechanisms for learning (see section 6.4.4), the discrepancy between levels of knowledge and skills acquired at Gordon

and Glenkinnon is likely to be due to the fact that attendance at events is much higher at Gordon.

Looking at the differences between the rates for Gordon and Glenkinnon local communities compared to the rates for the involved targeted interviewees, it would appear that being involved is linked to higher rates of acquiring knowledge and skills. All those involved had acquired knowledge and/or skills apart from a few of the Osprey volunteers who felt they were already experts in the field.

Knowledge and skills were said to have been acquired by various means for all the cases. For Wooplaw taking part was mentioned most as a way of acquiring knowledge and skills. This reflects the high levels of participation amongst the wardens and the hands-on approach to management. For Gordon and Glenkinnon taking part and events were the most mentioned means of acquiring skills. Training courses, which all volunteers receive before the beginning of the breeding season, were the most important means by which the Osprey volunteers acquired knowledge and skills. Other mechanisms mentioned were literature, signs and talking to people.

This suggests that acquiring knowledge and skills may be associated with being involved, taking part in work days, participating in events and visiting the woods.

Testing these hypotheses found:

- A statistically significant association between being involved in the management and running of projects and acquiring knowledge and skills with 50 (78%) of those who were involved acquiring knowledge and/or skills versus 14 (22%) of those who were not involved acquiring knowledge and/or skills ($p < 0.0001$).
- A statistically significant association between participating in events and acquiring knowledge and skills with 33 (52%) of those who usually went to events acquiring knowledge and/or skills versus 26 (41%) of those who sometimes went to events acquiring knowledge and/or skills versus 4 (6%) of those who never went to events acquiring knowledge and/or skills ($p < 0.0001$).

- A statistically significant association between visiting the wood and acquiring knowledge and skills with 31 (48%) of those who visit weekly or more acquiring knowledge and/or skills versus 27 (42%) of those who visit less than weekly but at least monthly acquiring knowledge and/or skills versus 6 (9%) of those who visit less than monthly or not at all acquiring knowledge and/or skills ($p < 0.0001$).
- Trends were divergent between the populations for work days and acquisition of knowledge and skills and so this test was not carried out.

Table 6.26 gives further details of these tests.

For the Osprey project the most cited area of knowledge/skill was bird/wildlife related, mentioned by over 70% of respondents. Wildlife followed by woodland management were the most cited areas of knowledge for both Gordon and Glenkinnon. For Wooplaw, woodland management was mentioned by all respondents. Knowledge and skills were primarily used for managing the woodlands or staffing the Osprey centres and for personal use in observation of surroundings and managing gardens. Other ways in which knowledge had been used was for school projects, lessons, a Borders Environmental challenge initiative, a project for visually impaired people, after school club, developing a small enterprise, giving talks to local groups and for a newspaper column.

Table 6.26. Details of statistical tests – knowledge and skills

Association tested	Test used	Value	Degrees of freedom	Level of significance (2 sided)
Involvement in project – acquiring knowledge and/or skills	Pearsons Chi Square	39.67	1	< 0.0001
Participating in events – acquiring knowledge and/or skills	Linear by linear association	34.24	1	< 0.0001
Visiting the wood - acquiring knowledge and/or skills	Linear by linear association	14.85	1	< 0.0001

6.5.3 Connection and sense of belonging

The third social benefit explored is that of connection and sense of belonging.

a) Products from the wood

Interviewees were asked if they had any products from the wood at home, in the house or garden and, if so, what they were. In analysis the product type was divided into two categories – useful and ornamental.

Table 6.27. Products and type of products

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %
Have woodland products	31	27	50	18	100
Have useful products	50	18	66	36	100
Have ornamental products	50	86	33	55	33
Total number	n=8	n=22	n=6	n=11	n=6

The collection and use of products from the wood may reflect a connection to the particular wood and/or the existence of a ‘wood culture’. Despite there being more involvement amongst the wider community at Gordon, rates are slightly higher amongst the Glenkinnon community where people had bean sticks, walking stick and fir cones for the garden. This may be explained by the type of people living in the two communities. As already mentioned in section 6.4.4, the area around Glenkinnon was reported to attract people with a love for the countryside and outdoor recreation and many of the people interviewed were interested in woodlands. At Gordon, although there is keen interest in and support for the community woodland, the impression was that the community was less connected to the countryside (which may be in part due to poor access to the countryside in a predominantly agricultural area).

Those involved with Wooplaw have the highest rates of having woodland products and useful products which may be in part due to the close and long involvement of

the wardens and the regular work days. It suggests a strong connection to the wood and a wood using culture amongst the wardens, reflecting the ethos of the community wood which embodies the use of woodland products and promoting a wood culture. Products included birch sap wine, baskets, stools, material for art work, chairs, tables, bowls and willow cuttings.

Testing for associations between involvement, taking part in work days and length of involvement and having woodland products found:

- A statistically significant association between being involved in management or running of the project and having woodland products with 13 (65%) of those involved having products versus 7 (35%) of those not involved having woodland products (p 0.001).
- A statistically significant association between taking part in work days and having woodland products with 10 (50%) of those who usually took part in work days having products versus 6 (30%) of those who sometimes took part in work days having woodland products versus 4 (20%) of those who never took part in work days having woodland products (p 0.001).
- Numbers were too small to test for an association between length of time involved and having products.

See Table 6.31 for further details

b) Talking about the projects

Interviewees were asked if they talked about the woodland initiatives amongst family and friends.

Table 6.28. Talking about the projects

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Talk about often	62	17	0	0	57	71
Talk about sometimes	25	79	17	23	28	25
Rarely or don't talk about	13	3	83	77	15	3
Total number	n=8	n=29	n=6	n=13	n=7	n=32

Gordon is much more talked about than Glenkinnon. It appears that the initiative in Gordon is much more present in the conscience of the community, maybe partly because there are more events and partly because it is community owned and managed which is seen as a great achievement.

Looking at the involved respondents, the higher rates at Gordon, Wooplaw and the Osprey project may be explained by the higher degrees of participation in Wooplaw and Gordon and the 'excitement' factor of the Osprey project where, although volunteers aren't closely involved in the management, the drama of the breeding season is very captivating.

This suggests that the amount an initiative is talked about may be connected to levels of involvement and taking part in work days or attending events. Testing these hypotheses found:

- Numbers were too small to test for being involved and talking about the project.
- A statistically significant association between taking part in work days and talking about the project with 17 (85%) of those who go to work days often talking about the project versus 3 (15%) of those who do not take part in work days often talking about the project (p 0.001).
- A statistically significant association between attending events and talking about the project with 22 (63%) of those who usually go to events often talking about the project versus 12 (34%) of those who sometimes go to events often talking about the project versus 1 (3%) who have not been to events often talking about the project (p 0.001).

See Table 6.31 for further details

c) Feel about the area

Table 6.29 shows the percentages of respondents who reported to feel differently about the area they live in as a result of the community woodland initiative.

Table 6.29. Feeling differently about the area

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Change in how feel about the area.	62	65	100	45	86	52
Total number	n=8	n=20	n=6	n=11	n=7	n=31

Respondents were invited to expand on their answers, which were categorised as shown in Table 6.30.

Table 6.30: Way in which people felt differently

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Pride		50	29	13	57	56
More respect for people in community	14	41				19
Have a stake	43	18	29	25	43	19
Belonging/part of the community	57	23	29	25	71	38
Area enhanced	14	27	43	25		19
Greater awareness	14	14				38
Hope/opportunity	29	9		13		
Dispirited			14			
Total number	n=7	n=22	n=7	n=8	n=7	n=31

Factors such as length of time that people have lived in the area combined with how recent the project is and length and depth of participation could affect whether people feel any differently about their area as a result of the woodland initiative.

Interestingly, although for Glenkinnon there is a clear increase in people experiencing a change in the way they feel between the local community and the targeted involved respondent set, for Gordon the rates are roughly the same between Gordon local community and Gordon targeted. This throws into question whether being involved is linked to change in how people feel about the area.

Many of the Osprey volunteers have lived in the area for a long time (average 20 years) and the project is relatively new which may account for the lower levels of change. Many respondents said that they already felt pride in, and a connection to, their area before this project. However, over half said the project had affected the way they felt, adding to their pride in the area, sense of belonging and their awareness: *'collective pride in all the developments'*, *'made me more aware of the area'*, *'local input helps the volunteers to own the project'*.

Targeted involved respondents from Glenkinnon universally said that the project had changed the way they felt about the area, even though their levels of involvement were comparatively low. This may well be due to the fact that many of them are relatively new to the area, so any community project may enhance the way they feel about the area. Respondents said they felt they had a stake, their area was enhanced and that it added to their sense of belonging: *'feel I have a stake in the area'*, *'it has local input'*, *'we planted some of the trees, so more personal'*, *'increased sense of belonging a little bit'*. For other residents who were not new, the wood symbolised hope for a community:

'overwhelming feeling of loss of community spirit due to changing nature of the Borders and people who live here. It would be nice if the community wood would bring people together again'.

Respondents from Wooplaw mostly said that it had changed the way they felt about the area despite the distance they live from the wood. Through their relatively long standing involvement, their sense of belonging had increased, as had their pride and they felt they had a stake in a piece of land in their area: *'nice to know a place one can come to. The rest of the area is privately owned'*.

Despite the success of the Gordon Community Woodland about $\frac{1}{3}$ of respondents said that it had not changed the way they felt about the area. It tended to be the longer standing residents who felt no change – (mean years lived in village 21 compared to 10 yrs for those who said the community wood had affected the way they felt about the area). The main feelings mentioned were increased pride in the area and increased respect for people in the community: *'proud to be part of community with such a beautiful woodland'*, *'realisation that there are many*

enlightened people around'. Another area was the hope that the woodland project symbolised: *'it symbolises hope for the village/community'*.

From the discussion it is hard to ascertain potential associations, but it was considered to be worth testing whether involvement in management or running of the projects, attendance at work days or events, visiting the wood, length of involvement or time lived in the area are associated with people feeling differently about their area.

- No statistically significant association was found between involvement in management and running of the projects and feeling differently.
- No statistically significant association was found between visiting the wood and feeling differently.
- There were divergent trends between the populations for the other possible associations and they were therefore not tested.

Table 6.31: Details of statistical tests – connection and sense of belonging

Association tested	Test used	Value	Degrees of freedom	Level of significance (2 sided)
Involvement in project – having woodland products	Pearsons Chi Square	10.16	1	0.001
Taking part in work days – having woodland products	Linear by linear association	11.83	1	0.001
Involvement in project – talking about the project	Linear by linear association	11.76	1	<0.001
Taking part in work days – talking about the project	Linear by linear association	25.55	1	< 0.0001
Taking part in events – talking about the project	Linear by linear association	13.99	1	< 0.0001

6.5.4 Cultural Capital

Interviewees were asked if they had changed their attitudes or values or their habits and practices as a result of the woodland initiative, and were invited to expand on their responses.

Table 6.32: Attitudes and habits

	Gordon targeted %	Gordon com. %	Glenkinnon targeted %	Glenkinnon com. %	Wooplaw %	Osprey %
Change in attitudes or values	62	38	50	0	71	25
Change in habits or practices	23	24	17	9	29	22
Total number	n=8	n=21	n=6	n=11	n=7	n=32

Most respondents who answered ‘yes’ to change in values added that it was more a ‘reinforcement of’ or ‘building on’ existing values. This is supported by the much lower rates of change in practices.

One would expect changes in culture to be in part associated with the length of time that people have been involved in the initiative and the ‘starting culture’ or existing attitudes and values. The higher rates of change in culture in Gordon compared to Glenkinnon may be associated with closer involvement and higher rates of participation in activities and may to be linked to less existing ‘wood culture’ at Gordon. Looking at those involved compared to the wider communities for Gordon and Glenkinnon, it appears that rates of shifts in attitudes and practices are higher amongst the targeted involved respondents. The highest proportion of respondents reporting a change in values and attitudes was from Wooplaw where the average length of time that people have been involved is 9.7 yrs. Lower levels of change amongst the Osprey volunteers may be accounted for by it being a new project (3 yrs), which attracts a specific interest group who mostly appeared to have clear existing values regarding the countryside and wildlife.

Examples of ways in which attitudes have changed are:

- For the Osprey project: *‘reinforces positive values around the need to protect the environment and habitats’, ‘we should protect these birds and protect our environment’.*
- For Glenkinnon: *‘what you can use things from the wood for’; ‘more aware and interested in the sources and sustainability of woodland products’.*

- For Gordon: *'more aware of diversity of flora and fauna on doorstep'*.
- For Wooplaw: *'importance of places like this – quiet spaces are precious'*.

The discussion infers that there might be association between change in values and practices and involvement in the projects, participation in work days or events and the length of time that people have been involved. However, trends were divergent between the populations for each of these possible associations, so tests were not carried out.

6.6 Who benefits and social inclusion

Since the woods became community woods all have had improved access, generally all purpose access, making the woods more accessible for all. It is an objective of all the initiatives to increase public use. It was remarked on several times that the events at one initiative are attractive to all sectors of the community and are very 'inclusive'. Additionally, the involvement of BFT who have links with many other voluntary and support groups in the Borders mean that the woods are often used by these groups, usually with the groups carrying out work in the wood, using them as an education, training or development forum.

It has been demonstrated that, for a number of the benefits explored, participation is likely to result in social benefits to individuals through involvement in management or running of the initiatives, taking part in work days, attending events, or visiting the wood frequently. To explore what type of people are likely to participate in these ways, the data can be further examined in terms of age, length of time respondents have lived in the area and gender.

Tables 6.5 – 6.7 in section 6.3 show the profile of people involved in the initiatives. Table 6.5 shows that being involved is possible for, and attractive to, both younger and older people although, compared to the wider community, younger people are under-represented and older people are over-represented. Table 6.6 shows that both newer and longer standing residents are involved although, compared to the wider community, there are less newer residents and more older residents. In terms of

gender, Table 6.7, shows roughly the same proportions of men and women to be involved in management and running of projects.

Tables 6.33 – 6.41 explore the type of person who takes part in work days, attends events and visits the woodlands in terms of their age, how long they have lived in the area and their gender. Statistical tests were run where appropriate to look for associations, but numbers were too small in all cases. Therefore the proportions are observed from the tables and any suggestions treated with caution due to the small numbers.

Table 6.33. Taking part in work days and age (targeted population)

Taking part in work days	Age				Total
	10 - 35	36 - 50	51 - 65	66 +	
Usually	2 (11%)	3 (17%)	10 (57%)	3 (17%)	18 (100%)
Sometimes	0	2 (33%)	2 (33%)	2 (33%)	6 (100%)
Never	0	1 (17%)	3 (50%)	2 (33%)	6 (100%)
Total	2 (7%)	6 (20%)	15 (50%)	7 (23%)	30 (100%)

Table 6.34. Taking part in work days and age (local community population)

Taking part in work days	Age				Total
	10 - 35	36 - 50	51 - 65	66 +	
Usually	0	0	0	0	0
Sometimes	0	7 (78%)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	9 (100%)
Never	4 (13%)	10 (33%)	11 (37%)	5 (17%)	30 (100%)
Total	4 (10%)	17 (44%)	12 (31%)	6 (15%)	39 (100%)

Amongst the targeted population there is no clear indication of certain age groups being more likely to take part in work days. In the local community, a higher proportion of the 36 – 50 yr age group participate in work days.

Table 6.35. Taking part in work days and length of time lived in area (targeted population)

Taking part in work days	Length of time lived in area				Total
	6 mo – 5 yrs	5 – 10 yrs	10 – 20 yrs	20 + yrs	
Usually	3 (17%)	4 (22%)	6 (33%)	5 (29%)	18 (100%)
Sometimes	0	2 (33%)	3 (50%)	1 (17%)	6 (100%)
Never	3 (50%)	1 (17%)	0	2 (33%)	6 (100%)
Total	6 (20%)	7 (33%)	9 (30%)	8 (27%)	30 (100%)

Table 6.36. Taking part in work days and length of time lived in area (local community population)

Taking part in work days	Length of time lived in area				Total
	6 mo – 5 yrs	5 – 10 yrs	10 – 20 yrs	20 + yrs	
Usually	0	0	0	0	0
Sometimes	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	9 (100%)
Never	11 (37%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	7 (23%)	30 (100%)
Total	14 (36%)	9 (23%)	8 (21%)	8 (21%)	39 (100%)

Tables 6.35 and 6.36 suggest that amongst the targeted population the longer standing residents are more likely to participate in work days but amongst the local communities the proportions participating are very similar to the overall age group proportions.

Table 6.37. Taking part in work days and gender (targeted population)

Taking part in work days	Gender		Total
	M	F	
Usually	8 (44%)	10 (56%)	18 (100%)
Sometimes	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	6 (100%)
Never	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	6 (100%)
Total	14 (47%)	16 (53%)	30 (100%)

Table 6.38. Taking part in work days and gender (local community population)

Taking part in work days	Gender		Total
	M	F	
Usually	0	0	0
Sometimes	1 (11%)	8 (89%)	9 (100%)
Never	6 (20%)	24 (80%)	30 (100%)
Total	7 (18%)	32 (82%)	39 (100%)

Tables 6.37 and 6.38 suggest that amongst the targeted population, work days appear to be equally attractive to men and women. Amongst the local community, it appears that work days might be slightly more attractive to women.

Table 6.39. Participating in events and age (targeted population)

Participating in events	Age				Total
	10 - 35	36 - 50	51 - 65	66 +	
Usually	2 (7%)	4 (14%)	16 (55%)	7 (24%)	29 (100%)
Sometimes	0	2 (10%)	7 (33%)	12 (57%)	21 (100%)
Never	0	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	2 (100%)
Total	2 (4%)	7 (14%)	23 (44%)	20 (39%)	52 (100%)

Table 6.40. Participating in events and age (local community population)

Participating in events	Age				
	10 - 35	36 - 50	51 - 65	66 +	Total
Usually	1 (13%)	6 (75%)	0	1 (13%)	8 (100%)
Sometimes	0	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	0	8 (100%)
Never	3 (13%)	7 (30%)	8 (35%)	5 (22%)	23 (100%)
Total	4 (10%)	17 (44%)	12 (31%)	6 (15%)	39 (100%)

Amongst the targeted population, there is no clear indication of events being more popular amongst a specific age group. Although those usually attending are over represented in the 51 – 65 yrs age group and those sometimes attending are over represented in the 66 + yrs age group, if these two rows are combined proportions are similar to the overall distributions of age groups. For the local community population, attending events seems to be popular amongst people under 50 yrs.

Table 6.41. Participating in events and length of time lived in area (targeted population)

Participating in events	Length of time lived in area				
	6 mo – 5 yrs	5 – 10 yrs	10 – 20 yrs	20 + yrs	Total
Usually	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	1 (13%)	1 (13%)	8 (100%)
Sometimes	1 (13%)	3 (38%)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)	8 (100%)
Never	9 (39%)	4 (17%)	5 (22%)	5 (22%)	23 (100%)
Total	14 (36%)	9 (23%)	8 (21%)	8 (21%)	39 (100%)

Table 6.42. Participating in events and length of time lived in area (local community population)

Participating in events	Length of time lived in area				
	6 mo – 5 yrs	5 – 10 yrs	10 – 20 yrs	20 + yrs	Total
Usually	9 (24%)	8 (22%)	10 (27%)	10 (27%)	37 (100%)
Sometimes	5 (17%)	7 (24%)	7 (24%)	10 (35%)	29 (100%)
Never	10 (40%)	5 (20%)	5 (20%)	5 (20%)	25 (100%)
Total	24 (26%)	20 (22%)	22 (24%)	25 (28%)	91 (100%)

Tables 6.41 and 6.42 show no clear pattern between participation in events and length of time lived in the community for either the targeted or local population.

Table 6.43. Participating in events and gender (targeted population)

Participating in events	Gender		
	M	F	Total
Usually	14 (52%)	13 (48%)	27 (100%)
Sometimes	12 (57%)	9(43%)	21 (100%)
Never	0	2 (100%)	2 (100%)
Total	26 (52%)	24 (48%)	50 (100%)

Table 6.44. Participating in events and gender (local community population)

Participating in events	Gender		
	M	F	Total
Usually	1 (13%)	7 (88%)	8 (100%)
Sometimes	1 (13%)	7(88%)	8 (100%)
Never	5 (22%)	18 (78%)	23 (100%)
Total	7 (18%)	32 (82%)	39 (100%)

Tables 6.43 and 6.44 suggest that, for the targeted population, events are attended roughly equally by men and women, but for the local community a slightly higher proportion of the women than the men attend events.

Table 6.45. Visiting the wood and age (targeted population)

Visiting the wood	Age				
	10 - 35	36 - 50	51 - 65	66 +	Total
At least weekly	1 (4%)	2 (7%)	14 (50%)	11 (39%)	28 (100%)
Less than weekly but at least monthly	1 (5%)	4 (20%)	7 (35%)	8 (40%)	20 (100%)
Less than monthly	0	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	5 (100%)
Total	2 (4%)	7 (13%)	23 (43%)	21 (40%)	53 (100%)

Table 6.46. Visiting the wood and age (local community population)

Visiting the wood	Age				
	10 - 35	36 - 50	51 - 65	66 +	Total
At least weekly	2 (17%)	4 (33%)	5 (42%)	1 (8%)	12 (100%)
Less than weekly but at least monthly	1 (9%)	8 (73%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)	11 (100%)
Less than monthly	1 (6%)	5 (28%)	8 (44%)	4 (22%)	18 (100%)
Total	4 (10%)	17 (42%)	14 (34%)	6 (15%)	41 (100%)

Tables 6.45 and 6.46 show that, amongst the targeted and local community populations, age is not obviously related to whether people visit the wood.

Table 6.47. Visiting the wood and length of time lived in area (targeted population)

Visiting the wood	Length of time lived in area				
	6 mo – 5 yrs	5 – 10 yrs	10 – 20 yrs	20 + yrs	Total
At least weekly	5 (18%)	4 (14%)	6 (21%)	13 (46%)	28 (100%)
Less than weekly but at least monthly	4 (20%)	4 (20%)	8 (40%)	4 (20%)	20 (100%)
Less than monthly	1 (20%)	3 (60%)	0	1 (20%)	5 (100%)
Total	10 (19%)	11 (21%)	14 (26%)	18 (43%)	53 (100%)

Table 6.48. Visiting the wood and length of time lived in area (local community population)

Visiting the wood	Length of time lived in area				
	6 mo – 5 yrs	5 – 10 yrs	10 – 20 yrs	20 + yrs	Total
At least weekly	2 (17%)	5 (42%)	3 (25%)	2 (17%)	12 (100%)
Less than weekly but at least monthly	7 (64%)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)	11 (100%)
Less than monthly	5 (28%)	2 (11%)	5 (28%)	6 (33%)	18 (100%)
Total	14 (34%)	9 (22%)	9 (22%)	9 (22%)	41 (100%)

The data in Tables 6.47 and 6.48 show that, amongst the targeted population, the longer standing residents are slightly more likely to visit the wood and, amongst the local population, the newer residents appear to be slightly more likely to visit the wood.

Table 6.49. Visiting the wood and gender (targeted population)

Visiting the wood	Gender		
	M	F	Total
At least weekly	14 (50%)	14 (50%)	28 (100%)
Less than weekly but at least monthly	10 (56%)	8 (44%)	18 (100%)
Less than monthly	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5 (100%)
Total	26 (51%)	25 (49%)	51 (100%)

Table 6.50. Visiting the wood and gender (local community population)

Visiting the wood	Gender		
	M	F	Total
At least weekly	0	12 (100%)	12 (100%)
Less than weekly but at least monthly	1 (9%)	10 (91%)	11 (100%)
Less than monthly	6 (33%)	12 (67%)	18 (100%)
Total	7 (17%)	34 (83%)	41 (100%)

For the targeted population, gender does not appear to be related to how often people visit the wood. However, for the local community, the data suggest that women are more likely to visit the wood.

Possible effects of the gender imbalance on the findings of this chapter can be discussed. Tables 6.38, 6.44 and 6.50 suggest that, in the local community, females are more likely to attend work days, events and to visit the woods. This means that the absolute levels of attending work days, events and visiting the wood found by this study are probably higher than would be for a more balanced population. However, the main purpose of this chapter has been to compare the cases and, as there was a similar gender imbalance in both the local communities, the effect on the comparisons is probably small. The gender imbalance was greater in Gordon than Glenkinnon, meaning that any effect would mean proportions of people going to events and visiting the wood may have been slightly over represented in Gordon compared to Glenkinnon.

6.7 Summary

All the benefits explored, elements of social capital, knowledge and skills, sense of belonging and cultural capital and social inclusion were found to be present in varying levels. Many benefits generally accrue to those most closely involved in the projects, but one benefit explored, that of feeling a greater connection to an area or sense of belonging did not appear to be linked to involvement and spread to the wider community. Factors thought to be important in determining the levels of benefit experienced were whether the wood was community owned, participation in management, work days and events and use of the wood; alternative countryside amenity available, cohesion in the community, and inclination of people living in the various communities.

In terms of the modified SLA (fig. 5.1), these findings can be described as elements of governance, natural capital, social capital and existing cultural attributes being shown to be relevant in determining outputs, asset (woodland) creation and access to its management and use, and outcomes, the social benefits.

The suggestions that the cases explored lead to acquisition of knowledge and skills and shifts in culture are important in terms of the constraints to forestry contributing more to rural development in the Borders identified during the scoping phase of this study.

CHAPTER 7: SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

7.1 *Introduction*

This chapter revisits the research questions posed at the beginning of the study and synthesises and discusses the study findings in terms of the adapted SLA.

Discussion also focuses on the relevance of findings to policy and on-going discussions highlighted in the literature review before concluding with a brief summary of the main findings of this research.

Objectives and research questions

- 1 To explore the role of forestry in rural development and the factors important in that process.
 - In what ways is forestry contributing to rural development?
 - How do different factors combine in the process by which forestry contributes to rural development?
- 2 To explore new methods of adding depth and insight to appraisal of forestry outcomes.
 - How can the Sustainable Livelihood Framework and other approaches assist in appraisal of forestry?
- 3 To explore the social benefits of community involvement.
 - To whom are the social benefits delivered?
 - What processes and mechanisms are involved in delivering social benefits?
 - What influences the effectiveness of these processes and mechanisms in delivering benefits?

These objectives guided the research design and the research questions and have largely been answered in the results chapters 5 and 6. This chapter draws together the results to further develop discussions relevant to the questions posed. Objectives 1 and 2 are addressed throughout this chapter. Section 7.3 relates more specifically to objective 3.

7.2 *Forestry and rural development: the Scottish Borders context*

In this section, the Scottish Borders is described as a locale for forestry and rural development in terms of the vulnerability context, its capital assets, the main transforming structures encountered and how these elements interrelate in the process of output creation. The SLA approach is used to structure this analysis.

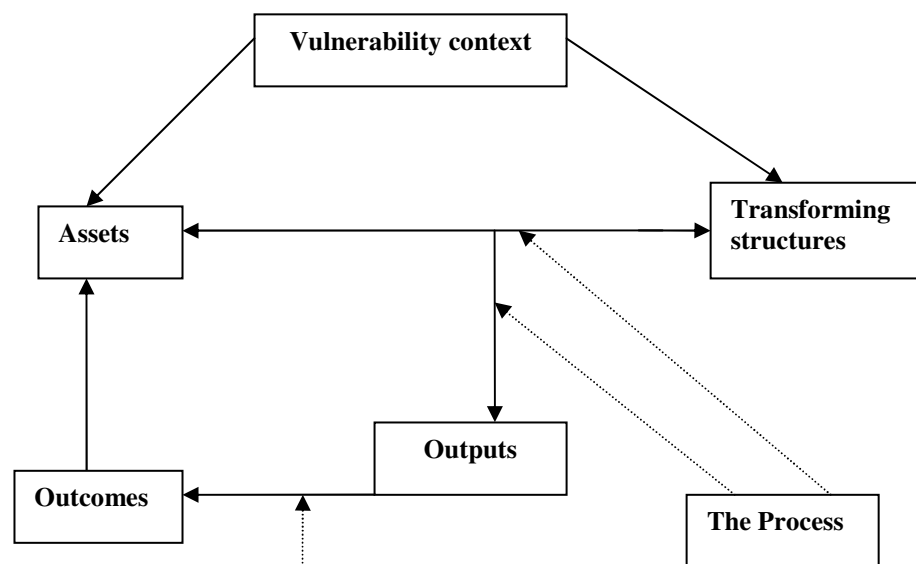


Fig. 7.1: An adapted SLA framework

7.2.1 The vulnerability context

a) Trends

Global market

The world market affects how attractive timber and other forest products are as an economic venture. The prices of timber and timber substitutes were mentioned by

several interviewees as being important in management decisions and planned activities. Although timber prices have declined significantly in real terms during the last few decades, there was a notable increase from 2006 - 2007 (Forestry Commission, 2007). The growing international markets for wood and increases in prices of other commodities for which wood can be a substitute may further increase the demand for timber and lead to better economic prospects for British timber producers.

Agriculture

The recent and upcoming reforms of the CAP are having an effect on land use decisions. Reforms have eroded subsidies related to production and are likely to have a marked effect on land management strategies. Interviewees from the forestry sector hoped that, in the future, forestry and agriculture will be more integrated and there will be increased planting of trees by farmers.

Global environmental concern

Growing concern over environmental issues during the 1980s culminated in the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. Resulting from that summit have been several international treaties and conventions – biodiversity, forestry and climate change, and the notion of sustainability has pervaded most policy arenas. A general increased awareness of the wider (social and environmental) benefits of native species and forestry has led to a favourable climate for planting conservation oriented and multi-purpose woods.

b) Seasonality

Production cycle

Inconsistency of quantities of timber coming into production creates difficulties for the timber industry. High levels of planting in the 1950s and 60s mean that production is going to increase by about 50% over the next 10 years in the Scottish Borders (Scottish Borders Council, 2005).

Work and markets

Seasonality of markets, such as firewood, was mentioned by interviewees in relation to challenges for small enterprises in the Borders.

7.2.2 Assets

Capital needs to be considered both in terms of whether it exists and in terms of whether it is available.

a) Natural capital.

Land quality in the Borders for forestry is rather varied with yield class declining with altitude to about 600m. Although the climate is generally favourable for commercial conifers, windiness can be a serious constraint. In some areas there is good quality agricultural land and, in these areas, incentives for planting are often not adequate to make forestry an attractive alternative to agriculture. Existing levels of woodland are low as are proportions of native woodland (see section 4.2). The Borders has both an attractive landscape and interesting wildlife and there has been good access to the countryside in the Tweed valley area for a number of years.

b) Human capital.

There was said to be relatively low levels of skills and knowledge relating to wood processing and products in the Scottish Borders but, on the other hand, the population is relatively well educated. The total population is increasing slightly, but young people tend to leave the Borders and in-migration tends to be by older people, often retired.

c) Physical capital.

Wood processing capacity is limited to small scale operations. Ninety percent of timber is processed in larger sawmills in Dumfries and Galloway and Northumberland. Of the existing sawmills, few have kilning capacity which limits their potential product range. Further education facilities offering training in woodland management or processing are absent, apart from at Woodschool which

has very limited places. The road network is not suitable for transporting large volumes of timber.

d) Social capital.

The general status of social capital was not explicitly commented on by interviewees. Social indicators suggest above average rates in terms of ‘community participation’ (see section 4.2.3). The inclination and ability of community groups to form and function requires a degree of social capital and the community initiatives encountered suggest that some social capital exists, although it varies locally. This is perhaps countered by the increasing new housing in the area for the ‘itinerant’ commuter population.

e) Financial capital.

The initiatives and enterprises encountered all had to be resourceful in accessing financial capital to support the woodlands. However, funds exist, both locally and through agencies and trusts, and many initiatives had been very successful in fundraising.

f) Cultural capital.

Amongst the public, cultural capital in terms of a wood using and wood connecting culture was said to be low and it was mentioned that there is a lack of ‘wood culture’ whereby people fail to see the whole product or the value of the resource. The wood processing sector was said to be relatively old fashioned and to lack a business or marketing culture or culture of innovation (with exceptions). Also a culture of ‘distrust’ in the supply chain was mentioned. The culture amongst the FC and policy makers was said to have been a focus on supply with little attention to demand.

7.2.3 Transforming structures

This section comments on the main transforming structures encountered. As in the adapted SLA, transforming structures include governance arrangements, policies, mechanisms and management arrangements. Where appropriate comments are made on their origins, the level at which they operate and how they interrelate.

The market

The market is potentially global, and increasingly so for many products, but can be defined on any scale. It does not serve asset exchange in forestry particularly well, as forestry produces too many public goods to which people are accustomed to having free access. Policies intervene to correct market failure and provide mechanisms such as the grant schemes. As noted by the Bowhill interviewee, private landowners are more affected by the market as they generally have to pay greater attention to the economic aspects of forest management.

Intra-estate links

At Bowhill estate links exist between departments to ensure that separate enterprises, such as livestock, game and forestry, support each other. These links are embedded in a history of mixed estate working and varying vulnerabilities of different enterprises over time.

Forums and networks

Several forums or networks were encountered. The South Scotland Forest Cluster group, run by Scottish Enterprise as part of their services to businesses in Scotland, and the Sawmillers Forum, which grew out of the forest cluster group, assist the wood processing industry with research and development, investment, training, cooperation and collaborative marketing and, in general, support the ‘demand side’ of the industry. The Borders Community Woodland Forum, which emerged from a community woodland conference in 2003, was established to facilitate coordination and exchange between the community woodlands in the Borders.

Partnerships

Partnership arrangements encountered are used to add value to the resource with one partner often owning the resource and the other(s) contributing a valuable area of expertise. See 5.6.3 for some examples. Partnership arrangements also arise to access funding opportunities that require or favour partnership working. In general

partnerships were said to be few in the private sector but Buccleuch estates are developing innovative business partnerships to add value to forest products.

Community management through leasing arrangements and joint management agreements

There are structures providing opportunities for communities to enjoy varying rights, from complete ownership to involvement in management. In the Borders, BFT often act as an intermediary body between the land owner and community.

Informal partnerships with other civil society groups

BFT have a number of informal arrangements with groups (see 5.6.2).

Payments in kind

BFT have a number of informal arrangements with local enterprises which exist on a basis of a split of the product (see 5.6.2).

7.2.4 Processes and outputs

In this section some of the processes by which transforming structures interact with the vulnerability and capital context to produce outputs are described. The processes are described under each output category (asset creation, access to assets, asset coordination and asset exchange) in the adapted SLA and include comments on transaction costs, sustainability and time. Due to the focus of this research, the second output, access to assets, is more developed than the other three.

a) Asset creation – planting of woodland or changing the composition of existing woodland

The existing woodland resource in the Scottish Borders, which is predominantly Sitka spruce plantation in the West with much smaller areas of scattered farm woodlands in the East, was said to be due (in part) to the institutional culture of the FC during the mid twentieth century with its focus on supply. This is combined with the natural capital of the Borders, which provides good agricultural potential in the

East, meaning that the large blocks of planting in the twentieth century were on less favourable land in the West.

Land managers are vulnerable to international policy such as the CAP and a degree of uncertainty over the effects and implications of the CAP reforms was said to be contributing to low levels of new planting. Levels of planting are also closely affected by FC policy and grant rates. Amongst community groups and other small woodland owners/managers the transaction costs involved in accessing information about grants and in preparing applications was said to sometimes be prohibitive. BFT and FCS do provide advice and assistance to overcome these obstacles. The focus of grants available, and therefore the nature of the resource being planted, is affected by the international trend in increased environmental concern and emphasis on sustainability.

Much of the current woodland resource in the Borders is at a stage at which there are opportunities for restructuring and changing the species composition. This will be happening in the Tweed Valley Forest Park in general and specifically at Glenkinnon Community Wood and, combined with the trend mentioned above, is leading to an increase in woodland with environmental and social foci. Partnership arrangements have been used in these situations to draw in expertise and add value to the restructured resource.

At the private estate interviewed asset creation is affected by the informal rules resulting from 'intra-estate department links'. Game and livestock departments affect the type of woods planted and their management. Other estate departments are open to their own vulnerability factors, such as CAP reforms and global markets, which, in turn, affect the forestry department.

In some of the community woodlands, planting and management is also affected by informal partnerships and links between the managing body and other civil society groups as the labour needed to plant trees is sometimes provided by these groups.

b) Access to assets – access to management or ownership and use and enjoyment of woodland.

The emphasis on sustainability mentioned above with the associated concerns for social, as well as environmental, benefits, along with other trends mentioned in 2.7, have resulted in a policy climate favourable to increased access to land in general.

Although these opportunities exist the degree to which they are taken up is affected by the social and human capital in the communities and the governance structures to facilitate the initiatives and how they operate. Opportunities for community involvement have tended to arise in woodlands which are either not being primarily managed for timber production or are due to undergo restructuring, or on other areas of unproductive land. The study found factors assisting community access to include a degree of social capital to help in forming community groups and human capital in the form of a relatively well educated population to manage projects and source funds for community woodland initiatives. Also the ability to raise funds from the public (local communities) by Darnick and Lindean reflects a population with a degree of financial capital, able and willing to support local initiatives financially. On the other hand, the reported degree of apathy regarding communities in the Tweed Valley not seeking more involvement in management of local resources means that the organisations involved have to ‘work hard’ to encourage and maintain participation in management.

The transaction costs involved in establishing a ‘community wood’ can be large as they often require collaborative arrangements between a number of bodies. See Margerum (2007) for a full exploration into the constraints of local collaboration. The various governance structures of the community woodland initiatives exist, in part, to overcome these transaction costs by linking owners, expertise and the community in a mutually satisfactory arrangement. BFT also reduces the information costs involved in organising work days and events and planning improved access and interpretation, all of which encourage use of the woods.

However, the involvement of an outside agency in the management of the wood and facilitation of community involvement, although very important to the running of most of the initiatives encountered, adds another layer through which to accumulate transaction costs. Unless communication systems are well established and functioning between the organising agency and community, the transaction costs associated with transferring information can become both costly and a barrier to the full potential of access to the woodland initiative being realised.

Formal and informal partnerships were being used both to draw in organisations with expertise in increasing and enhancing access and to help in the physical construction of access paths in woods. Information costs are involved in making initial contacts and coordination costs in coordinating activities. Contacts and networks are important in establishing partnerships and umbrella type organisations can be helpful such as BFT or Tweed Forum. BFT appeared to have very good contacts and networks with other local organisations which seemed to be embedded in strong working relationships on the ground and trust in BFT.

Some of the arrangements to facilitate access to woodlands, such as the links between BFT and communities, are seen (by the agencies) to be short/medium term measures until the community takes over complete responsibility of the woodland. As such they are not meant to be sustainable in themselves, but to lead to a sustainable outcome of a community managed resource delivering a range of benefits. Other arrangements, such as communities leasing woodlands are intended to have the potential to be longer term, if demanded by the community. Further comments on the sustainability of these arrangements are made in 7.4.

At the private estate interviewed access to assets was affected by the informal rules resulting from the intra-estate department links. Attracting paying visitors to the house was an objective of the estate and good access to the nearby woodland was, in part, designed to encourage more paying visitors to the house.

c) Asset coordination – managing assets collectively to benefit from economies of scale

The Borders Community Woodland Forum, which emerged from a community woodland conference in 2003, was established to facilitate asset coordination between the community woodlands in the Borders. Although newly established, several of the community woodland representatives interviewed had attended forum meetings. It is intended that the forum take some of the functions currently undertaken by BFT, so that community groups advise each other and share experience directly, increasing the sustainability of the community woodland movement in the Borders. At the time of this study, it was too early to comment on the likely sustainability of the forum.

In addition, BFT try to coordinate operations where possible to benefit from sharing of resources or equipment to reduce management costs and make the small woodlands more viable. This relies on good neighbourly relationships.

d) Asset exchange – the exchange of woodland products, timber and non timber for economic returns or payments in-kind.

The principle institution for asset exchange is the market. Vulnerability factors such as global timber and timber substitute prices are key factors affecting the market in timber. In terms of capital, the lack of human and physical capital in the wood processing and products sector has an effect on how well the market can deliver rural development benefits in the Borders, as does the lack of ‘wood using culture’ which affects the demand for forest products.

Transaction costs exist in providing information about supply and demand for products. Additionally, mistrust was said to exist in the timber chain of supply which adds to transaction costs and reduces the efficiency of the market. The market is inefficient in allocating forest products in general due to the lack of property rights associated with many forest products.

There are a number of groups whose purpose is to promote/assist asset exchange and overcome some of these transaction costs, such as the South Scotland Forest Industries Cluster group and the Sawmillers Forum. Such institutions are available to assist all types of forestry but they currently tend to be linked to the marketing of timber products and are therefore more relevant to commercial forestry.

A number of factors were found to affect and constrain the viability and practicality of economic ventures from small woodlands. Factors mentioned were seasonality of markets, lack of practical / business skills and small sizes of woodlands. Payments in-kind were used by BFT to facilitate production of marketable goods from small woodlands to a certain extent. Transaction costs exist in establishing the arrangements and those encountered seemed to be based on good contacts and relationships.

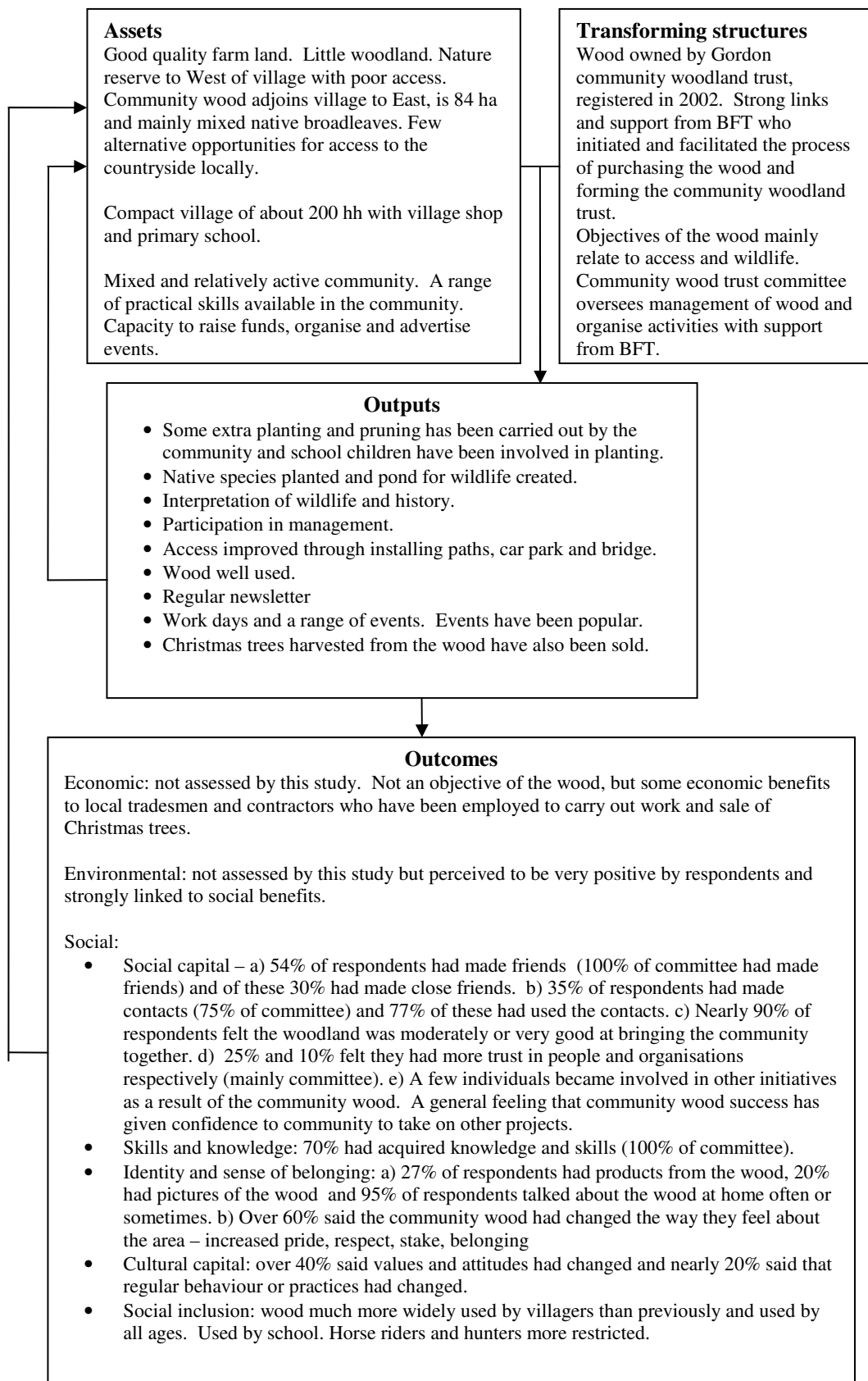
In general, the lack of human capital relevant to product development and marketing was said to affect the ability to add value to products in the forestry sector in the Borders. Although partnership working was said to offer an opportunity to the private sector, this was also said to require a shift in culture in the private sector to find ways of cooperation to overcome the coordination and strategic costs involved in jointly running enterprises.

7.3 Outcomes: The social benefits of community involvement

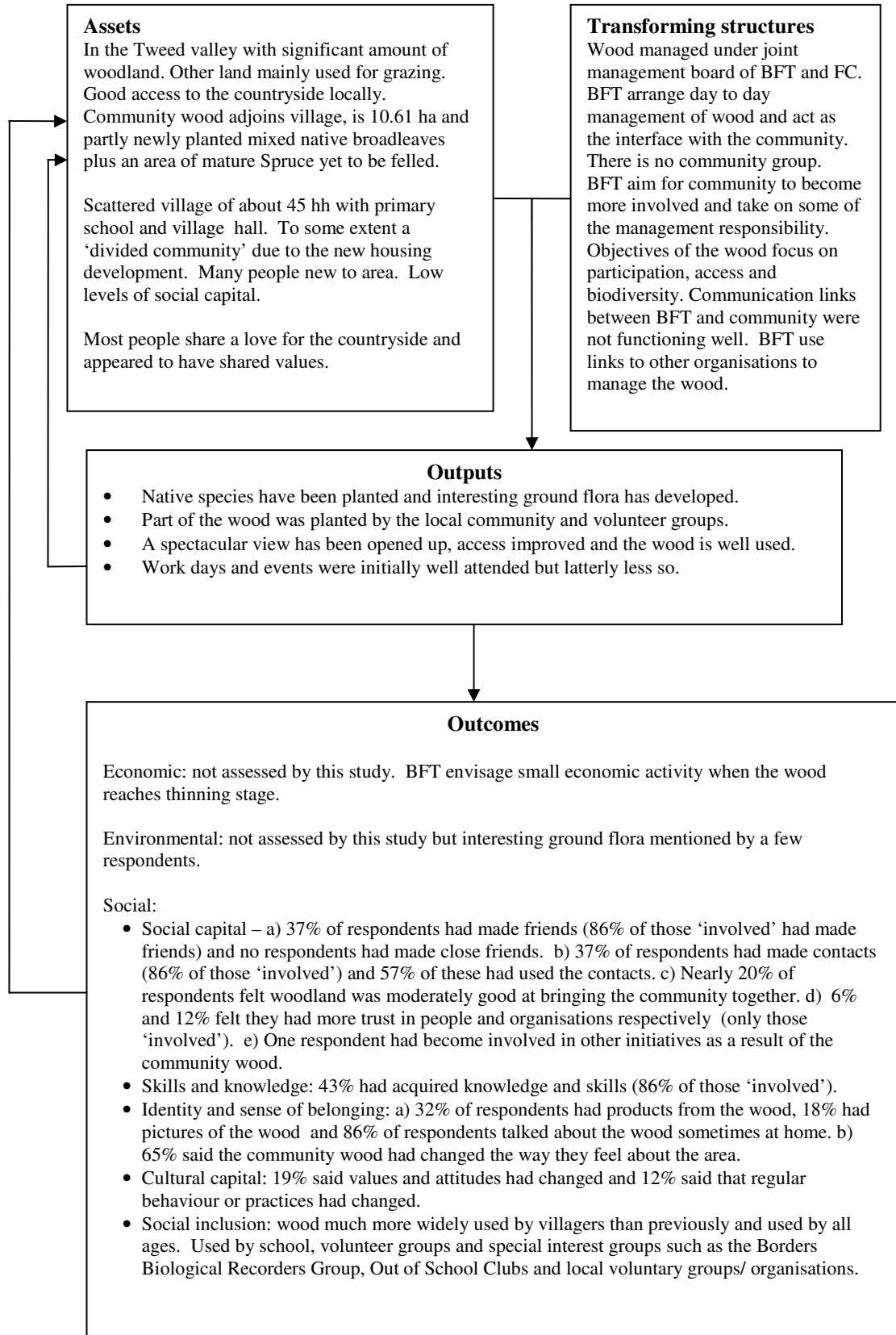
The SLA can be used on different scales. In 7.2 the scale was that of the Borders, whereas in this section, 7.3, the framework is used at a more local level to structure an analysis of the case studies of community involvement and social benefits, and this analysis is embedded in that of the Borders as a whole. The following diagrams summarise the four case studies and are included here as a reference for the subsequent discussion. The diagrams use the framework structure to highlight the important assets and transforming structures which are instrumental in delivering outputs and, in turn, outcomes. The vulnerability context is taken to be present.

7.3.1 The case study frameworks

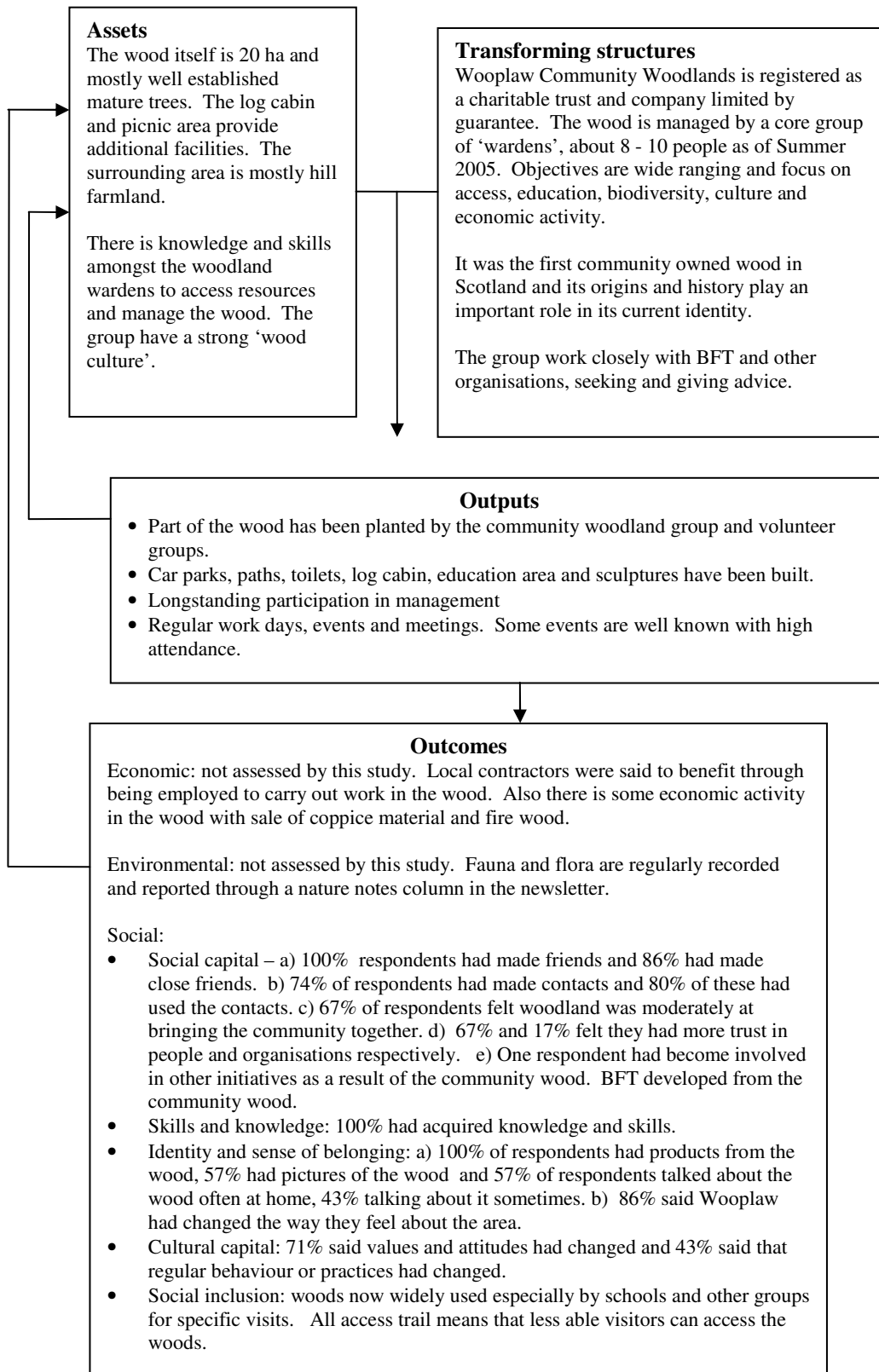
Gordon



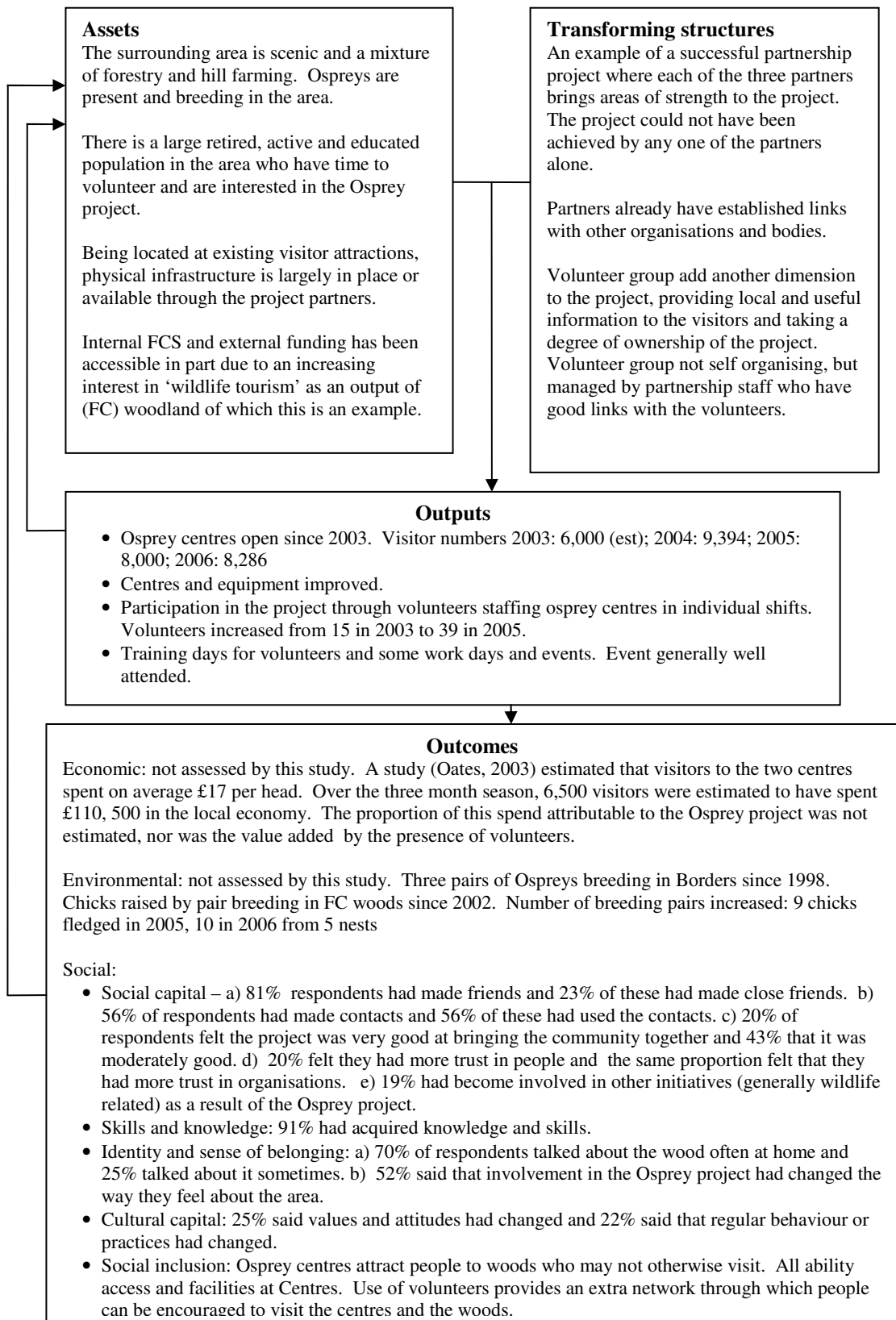
Glenkinnon



Wooplaw



Osprey project



7.3.2 Social benefits: The process and beneficiaries

In this section the social benefits explored by this study are discussed in turn in terms of the process by which they are acquired and to whom they accrue. The social benefits are described in the outcomes boxes of the case study framework diagrams.

a) Contributing to Social capital

Most elements of social capital building explored were found to be associated with involvement in management groups or in the running of projects and taking part in work days and events (see Chapter 6). It is therefore important to try and establish, firstly, what enables groups to form and individuals to participate in management and, second, the factors that are important in making work days and events accessible and popular.

In the cases studied there are three different ways in which communities have come to be involved in managing and/or running their project. The Wooplaw group was established through the impetus and drive of several individuals with the necessary knowledge and contacts to establish an organisation and raise funds. This group had sufficient 'bridging' and 'linking' social capital, with horizontal and vertical links, and human capital to overcome the transaction costs involved in the process of establishing a body and fundraising. At Gordon the local community had adequate levels of social capital, primarily 'bridging' social capital, and interest to establish a community group, with considerable assistance from an outside agency which effectively provided the necessary vertical links, to the 'extra-local'. For Glenkinnon and the Osprey project there are no community groups, but community involvement has been facilitated by a managing agency.

The success of work days and events in attracting participants seemed to be affected by several factors in the case studies. Communication is key, in the Osprey project all volunteers are individually contacted to tell them about events and work days whereas, at Glenkinnon community wood, BFT rely on a few key contacts to pass on information to the rest of the community and this system was not functioning well at

the time of this study. This community displayed very low levels of social capital which affected the exchange of information within the community.

People enjoy events because they are educational, social and fun and events quickly build a reputation. They often draw on the natural capital, in terms of interesting fauna and flora, or cultural capital, in terms of cultural occasions. At Gordon, the popularity of the events was remarked on by many people, both who had and had not been to any of them. At Wooplaw, the longer standing community wood, a considerable reputation had been established for several of its annual events and for its focus on cultural events and the arts. BFT is very helpful in advising and providing materials for events, especially for wildlife related events for children.

The study found that the woodland initiatives lead a small proportion of people on to other projects. At the individual level, such links were often facilitated by the agencies involved (the governance structures) which also affected the nature of these links. Where BFT works closely with groups, several people have become involved in other BFT initiatives related to the community woodland movement in the Borders. The RSPB involvement in the Osprey project has facilitated links to local RSPB groups and increased RSPB membership, in line with their objectives. At Wooplaw, the longer established community woodland, with its own strong ethos and identity, links had tended to be formed in the environmental and arts fields which are pursued by that project. This demonstrates effects of the policies of the organisations (highlighted in the transforming structures box of the SLA) involved, the history of the governance arrangements and the aims of the various groups.

At the district level, the involvement of BFT, a very active local agency, has facilitated links and networks at the district level which were enabling initiatives to assist each other and furthering community woodlands in the Borders. It is useful to note here, as concluded by Murdoch (Murdoch, 2000), that it is what flows through the networks that is more important than the networks themselves and establishing links and networks are not fruitful unless useful exchanges are made through those networks.

This study found that a degree of bridging and linking social capital appeared to be used by communities to overcome the transaction costs associated with establishing community involvement initiatives from which further social capital flowed. This supports the finding of Pargal *et al.* (2002) that existing social capital is linked to levels of participation. The study also found that, with agency support to facilitate the involvement, social capital could be generated in communities with very little existing social capital.

b) Acquiring skills and knowledge

Acquiring knowledge and skills was found to be associated with visiting the wood as well as with involvement in management and taking part in events and work days.

Visiting the wood seemed to be affected by:

- Access to the woods. All the cases had good access into and within the woods. In one case, Gordon, the community group had enabled direct access to the wood from the village via a path, meaning that people did not have to walk on the road at all. For larger and more complicated access constructions, out with the human capital (capabilities and manpower) of the community, grants have to be applied for and the community group plus agency needs the capacity (human capital and time) to apply for grants and manage the projects.
- The natural capital, and access to it, of the area in terms of the availability and quality of alternative local countryside walks.
- The inclination of the local community appeared to be of significance. In one case, Glenkinnon, it was observed that the local community were very inclined to take countryside walks, which could be described as a community culture, and many had chosen to live in that area because it offered options for such walks.
- Specific aspects of the woodlands appeal to different people and encourage them to visit it. For some it is the involvement in creating the wood i.e. participation in the output ‘asset creation’, for others it is elements or qualities of the natural capital, such as interest in wildlife, which may have

been ignited or enhanced through attending events, or, for many, it is the space and peace and quiet that the wood offers.

Individuals mainly used the acquired knowledge and skills in the woodlands, their gardens or in increased observation of their surroundings (in line with the findings of O'Brien, 2004), but it also, in combination with the links established, contributed to the increased capacity and confidence experienced in Gordon community.

Acquisition of knowledge and skills within the community and elements of social capital in combination have the potential to lead to increased capacity and empowerment described by Ostheten (1999) and MacIntyre and Marshall (2003) (see section 3.2.1).

c) *Connection and sense of belonging*

No associations were found to indicate specific factors that lead to an increased sense of belonging and it did not appear to be linked to involvement or participation.

Indeed, 38% of respondents who had never visited the woods and 44% of those who visited less than monthly and did not go to work days or events, still felt the presence of the woods had enhanced the way they felt about the area. This is supported by several respondents mentioning 'its existence' as being their main interest in the wood. This finding supports that of Evans (2002) who finds community woodlands operate as a perceptual centre of a community and, through this, the benefits of the community woodland spread through the community.

At Glenkinnon, where there is a local community to the wood, but the community is relatively new and was said to lack cohesion and appeared to have limited social capital, the community wood made people feel that they had a stake in their area, that the area was enhanced and that they had an increased sense of belonging. It has also engendered a sense of hope in terms of bringing a fragmented community together. In this respect, the community wood is having the reverse affect to that of the forests described by Hunter *et al.* (2002) who found forests to symbolise '*post-modern concerns over loss of traditional community*' (p 18) demonstrating the extremes of what different types of forestry management can symbolise to local populations. The

existence of Glenkinnon community wood appears to have had a significant impact on how people feel about their area, even though there is no community group and the community wood was initiated and largely managed by an agency. It was notable that, although for the other types of social benefit explored the research found generally higher rates for Gordon than Glenkinnon, for connection and sense of belonging indicators the rates between the two communities were comparable.

At Gordon, where the local community lacks similar amenities (or access to natural capital), the community raised money to purchase the wood and the community manages its community wood (deploying existing social and human capital), the community woodland project is seen as a huge achievement. Feelings of pride, respect for people in the community, having a stake in and of being part of the community were expressed.

Wooplaw and the Osprey project demonstrate that, even where the community is not adjoining the wood, involvement in the initiatives (or access to the assets) still enhances feelings about the area. At Wooplaw, despite the community being drawn from a number of different nearby towns and villages, feelings of increased belonging, pride and having a stake in their area were expressed by people who had been involved for a number of years. The Osprey project draws on a local community of interest to run a flagship project which gives rise to feelings of increased pride amongst those involved, even though many were long established residents with strong connections to the area.

d) Cultural capital

Although no conclusions could be drawn about the factors associated with cultural change and the building of cultural capital, it was suggested that the existing wood culture and participation were likely factors in determining levels or rates of cultural change. Higher levels of cultural change were found at Gordon, where there is good participation, both in management and at events, and where there appeared to be less 'existing wood culture', than at Glenkinnon. The popular appeal of events to people who may not otherwise visit the wood, combined with their educational value, may

suggest events as a good mechanism for cultural change. Wooplaw with its longstanding group involvement and strong ethos exhibited the highest rates of change in values and practices.

Nearly all changes in attitudes or practices were reported to be marginal and thus any claims to building cultural capital need to be tentative. The cultural changes (changes in attitudes and practices) nearly all related to enhanced environmental awareness and an assimilation of that awareness into reinforcing or, sometimes changing, beliefs and practices. Rappaport (1971) describes this as a change in the ‘cognized model’ (of nature) eliciting behaviour appropriate to the biological well-being of the community and the ecosystems in which it participates.

e) Social inclusion

Social inclusion was not an explicit objective of any of the initiatives and they are not sited very near particularly ‘excluded’ populations. However, through making the woods accessible and a variety of transforming structures – governance and mechanisms and arrangements, the initiatives can be said to contribute to social inclusion by encouraging access for a wider range of users than might otherwise benefit from woodland amenities and through involving specific voluntary organisations which cater for disadvantaged groups.

To encourage public use was an objective of all the initiatives explored and all had made significant improvements to access to make visiting the wood easier and inviting. Improved access and increased awareness has led to much higher usage by the local community (for the two cases with adjoining local communities) since they became community woodlands, although not to the extent suggested by McIntyre and Marshall (2003) who write that it is normal for the majority of members of a community to get involved in a community wood. In this study, the fact that the woodland projects appeal to all ages and people from all walks of life was commented on. At Gordon, many people were first attracted to the wood for a specific event and have, since then, used it for walks. In this way, through carefully

and creatively managed events, the community wood has encouraged people to use it who may not otherwise have been inclined to visit.

Local schools were involved in all the initiatives. Other interest groups and voluntary groups also used the woods, either through BFT or, in the case of the long established community wood at Wooplaw, through direct arrangements with the woodland group. BFT, with its overview of the portfolio of community woods in the Borders, are in a good position to match interest groups with appropriate sites and match the needs of specific woodlands with the skills or services of other voluntary groups. This is in line with findings by (Slee *et al.*, undated) who found the involvement of staff/individuals with outreach capabilities to be important in helping the countryside to contribute to social inclusion.

7.3.3 Other benefits and connections between benefit types

Although this research did not look in detail at economic or environmental outcomes, it is useful to comment on them and note the relationships between benefit types.

There are other areas of social (as opposed to economic or environmental) benefit which were not explored by this study but which emerged as being of importance. Most people used the woods for walking, generally alone and the most cited association with the projects was peace and quiet followed by beautiful and special. This was said to be linked to mental health and spiritual well being, generated by the increased access to woodlands that the community involvement initiatives have facilitated and the quality of the wood environment (natural capital). The significance of this benefit is in line with the findings of O'Brien (2004) and Bishop *et al.* (2002). Physical exercise was also mentioned as a benefit of taking part in work days and walking in the woods. Again, the community involvement element in these woods gives rise to work days and increases the use of, and exercise gained from, the woods. Please refer to Tabbush and O'Brien (2002) and Hislop *et al.* (2006) for an exploration into and an evaluation of the health and well-being benefits of forestry.

Environmental outcomes were a high priority of most of the community woodlands. Habitat creation is not only a priority of BFT, which is very instrumental in all the community woodlands encountered, but also reflected the interest and values of the communities involved. Management for wildlife and habitats was a main priority as was use of the woods for environmental education. Economic activity was found to generally be of less interest amongst the community groups. One group, Wooplaw, does include it as an objective and sell woodland products and Christmas trees have been sold from Gordon community wood. Additionally, where work is contracted out, care is taken to try and support the local economy through engaging local contractors (where they exist) by all groups encountered and BFT. The Osprey project has been found to be contributing to the local economy through attracting visitors (Oates, 2003). The involvement of the volunteers in the Osprey project may enhance the economic benefits through providing information about other visitor attractions in the area which might lead to extended stays and/or increased expenditure locally. To assess the economic impact of the volunteers would make an interesting study to be weighed against the costs of coordinating the volunteer group.

There is visible evidence of the ‘overlapping’ nature of social, environmental and economic benefits. Examples of local socio-economic benefits being related to conservation were encountered. It was often people’s keen interest in the improved habitats and associated species in their woodlands which attracted them to become involved, participate in activities and visit the woods which, in turn, lead to social benefits (although this varied between cases). It could be said that in these cases the social benefits experienced are embedded in the environmental / biodiversity related potential of woodlands and the popular appeal of wildlife. It should be noted that this suggestion is contrary to O’Brien (2004) who found the social element of woodlands to be at the forefront of people’s minds. The return of Ospreys to the Tweed Valley, in part due to sympathetic forest management by FCS, has led to the development of a venture which attracts visitors to the region and contributes to the local economy, showing an overlap between economic and environmental benefits with the economic benefits being embedded in the environmental.

7.4 The role of forestry in rural development and relevance to policy

As mentioned in the literature review, rural areas and their economies are by no means homogenous with considerable differences between the remote and peripheral areas and those that are more accessible. Accordingly rural development has differing emphases with, for example, population retention being a higher level objective in remote areas and amenity provision being of more relevance to accessible areas. The initiatives explored by the study are situated in accessible rural areas. The population is relatively well educated and affluent and older than the national average. The respondents to this study were aware of the range of forest related products or benefits and many were keen to experience them, displaying what Mather (2001) describes as forests becoming ‘places of consumption’ of amenity, recreation and wildlife observation. Within the initiatives observed in this study were distinct differences in which elements of the woodlands the publics were interested in consuming from a range of physical wood products at Wooplaw to a natural space at Darnick.

Even though levels of involvement may not be those that some organisations or individuals aspire to, so that potential benefits relating to empowerment and capacity building are not achieved, the initiatives explored do provide valuable benefits to local populations and have a role in rural development. The woods studied provide an opportunity for various levels of community involvement through which social capital is developed. They provide a forum for communities to hold events which are educational and hold popular appeal. They add to people’s sense of belonging and connection to their areas and also offer a forum through which interests can be explored and developed. Environmental benefits appeared to be significant given the size of the woods. Economic benefits appeared to be less relevant to the groups perhaps in part due to the small size of the woods which means that in terms of enterprise development a degree of coordination would be required with other initiatives/woods. Where attempts are made to engage in economic activities, these initiatives represent models of sustainable development, embodying social,

environmental and economic benefits, participation and intergenerational equity. The manner in which woodlands naturally emphasise intergenerational aspect of sustainability is worth noting. Taking part in planting makes a link between past, present and future, and references to the significance of planting, growing, regeneration, longevity of trees and links between generations were made by several interviewees in this study. Also of note is that it appeared that women are more likely than men to participate in, and benefit from, the community woodland initiatives, maybe in part due to the emphasis on activities for children.

As outlined in 2.4.2, Scottish forestry policy seeks to secure community engagement to achieve local benefits and to use woodlands and their associated environments to enhance local identity. The Scottish Forestry Strategy also identifies the need for further evidence on ways to secure maximum benefit from woods near communities. In order to inform policy, it is useful to look at the key features of the cases explored which lead to their development, sustain them and enable them to be successful in contributing benefits. The key features can be summarised as follows:

- Local in scale, but networks linking to the extra-local;
- Involvement of local people;
- Partnership working;
- Local human resources and contacts to access further resources;
- Synergies with neighbours and sharing of experiences;
- Use of volunteering and payments-in-kind;
- Various and (often) flexible governance structures;
- Involvement of facilitating agency(ies);
- Building on biodiversity potential, local history and culture.

Although based on local resources, the initiatives encountered all relied, in varying degrees, on links which enabled them to access additional funds, knowledge, equipment, experience and labour. An agency or independent organisation with a networking and umbrella function would appear to often be a necessary component of these types of projects. Where possible, policy should try to facilitate links to

enable managers of woods to access organisations with the resources and experience to enhance specific aspects of woodlands, such as appropriate tree species, access and educational value, and to attract people to the woods and maximise the wood's potential.

There has been considerable emphasis in the Borders on the involvement of local communities in forestry as a mechanism for community and rural development. There are some broader issues that emerged that affect the role that forestry may have as an arena through which communities might be engaged. There was some evidence of disquiet over who the intended community might be when 'community woodlands' are established adjacent to small settlements. This is related to the process by which the initiatives are established and fear amongst local residents that wider local community use may spoil the enjoyment of the more immediate local community. Thus in this role, forestry may potentially benefit one community at the expense of another community. (It should be noted that the fears mentioned by two initiatives in this study did not materialise as actual use of the woods was more limited than initially anticipated).

Degree of involvement varies and this study found that not all communities aspire to ownership, in line with the findings of Edwards (2000). In some parts of the Borders, such as the Tweed valley, there has been a long history of public access which means that woods are well used by local people and visitors for recreation and indeed play a part in attracting people to move to the area and people are benefiting from the woods in this way. However, it has also meant that in these areas people lack the fervour for involvement in management of land or improved rights over land which is associated with the community woodland movement and may consequently benefit less from the involvement opportunities that arise.

Although ownership and involvement are said to be empowering in themselves, there may be a place for the recognition that a community woodland that does not achieve this status has not failed. O'Brien (2004) notes that achieving participation can take significant investment on the part of the facilitating agency and often needs

nurturing. The extent that the wood is used by the local and wider community and the benefits they derive from it, the resource it offers to different interest groups and other voluntary organisations and the environmental benefits generated are all valuable outcomes of a publicly funded initiative even if the 'empowerment outcome' is not maximised. The recently launched National Forest Land Scheme goes a long way in providing communities the opportunity to purchase land, but there also needs to be mechanisms and support to facilitate lesser degrees of involvement. The facilitating agency, be it FCS or an independent organisation such as BFT, needs to enable community involvement where there is an interest, as well as just 'welcome it'. In the Borders, this is carried out by BFT who have developed expertise, a good reputation and the trust of the forestry sector in the Borders.

The presence of BFT makes the Borders atypical in terms of local expertise and support available to facilitate the development of community woodlands. Relevant to this point is a discussion about appropriate levels of support and the possibility of community groups not benefiting from the empowering experiences of 'doing things themselves'. The question of how much support should be given to whom is not necessarily a straight forward one. For example, although Glenkinnon community was not in a position to form a woodland group or engage in any formal participation in the project, the nature of the community (many new houses and fragmented socially) means that an initiative such as the community woodland has the potential to be very important. As voiced by several respondents, the wood symbolised hope that a community spirit could be created. As such, although a greater investment of time and resources is required from BFT before participation becomes more forthcoming and formalised, if this does happen, the benefits to the community could be large. Our examples demonstrate that the type of support individual projects require can be very different. For some the limitations are technical knowledge, whereas for others lack of contacts within the community and lack of cohesion can be the main constraint. Again, this supports the case for flexibility in policy and related mechanisms.

The value of empowerment was demonstrated by Gordon community where, as a result of the success of the community purchased and managed wood, increased community confidence and impetus has led to other projects in the village. These initiatives will have their roots in the enhanced capital brought about by the outcomes of the community woodland initiatives and demonstrate the cyclical nature where by development outcomes feed into increased capacity to pursue further development initiatives (see 7.3.1). Such capacity building has been shown to be valuable by Dwyer *et al.* (2007) who conclude that local areas with experience of territorial rural development initiatives seemed to have been more likely to deploy the measures available under the Rural Development Regulation in effective and innovative ways.

Partnership working was used at several levels in the management of some of the initiatives. The establishment of two of the cases relied on partnerships and the management of all the community woodlands relied on, generally informal, partnerships. Successful partnerships, where each party brings strengths/assets and each benefits from the relationship were said to be fruitful. The interests of the various partners can be quite different - for the Osprey project partnership the 'return' for each partner is distinct. The return for Kailzie gardens may be increased visitor numbers to their gardens and retail outlets (this was not ascertained by this study), for RSPB it is increased membership and awareness raising about Ospreys and birds in general, and for FCS it is demonstrating the potential of wildlife tourism as an output from the public forest estate. However, appropriate partners are not easy to locate and, in terms of the private sector, were said to not be forthcoming. Policy measures which can support forums and networking mechanisms to facilitate coming together of potential partners would appear to be a good thing although in the private sector a degree of shift in culture may also be required.

In addition to the access to resources provided by links to agencies, the more successful initiatives have significant local human resources in terms of social capital and the knowledge and skills to access their own funding and contribute to management. The Borders has a relatively well educated population and this level of

resources locally may not be representative of other areas of the country. Policy should be aware of this and the implications for the levels of support that initiatives may need.

In the Borders, BFT has developed good relationships with land owners and managers and benefits from sharing resources and other arrangements which help make their operations viable. Without these arrangements and synergies, which result from trust and good relations, initiatives would be less efficient and the public cost greater. In the same vein, the community woodlands all relied on volunteering and payments in kind to be viable. Any cost benefit or other policy informing analysis looking at the economic activity generated by such ventures needs to take account of these non-monetary economic exchanges. Although when considering the benefits of volunteering, the potential negative impact on enterprises, which could be alternative sources of labour or skill, need to be borne in mind. Also policy needs to be aware of the importance of these arrangements to the viability of the initiatives and the implications for cost or levels of support in areas where the relationships to facilitate these arrangements have not been established. The above two paragraphs point to the need for flexibility in policy and policy mechanisms to take account of regional variations.

Policy should also be open to and, where appropriate, facilitate a range of governance arrangements. Looking at the governance structures which facilitated community involvement encountered by this study and how they have evolved:

- FCS/Kailzie Gardens/RSPB partnership combining owner of resource, means to access funding and expertise. It was an initiative of FCS, but facilitated by an external agency, Tweed Forum.
- Forestry Commission Scotland – BFT partnership. This partnership was initiated by FCS to deliver increased environmental and social value to unproductive areas of woodland.
- BFT owned. Where a woodland came up for sale and community not interested in/able to purchase it, BFT purchased the wood.

- BFT leased. BFT have been active in acquiring leases over areas of woodland/potential woodland which they consider valuable environmentally and/or socially.
- BFT – community agreement. In areas of wood owned or leased by BFT, they try to enter into a management agreement with the local community.
- Community owned. Community purchases in the Borders are largely facilitated by BFT who continue to assist the community group with management and other advice.

With the exception of Wooplaw, the community woodlands encountered throughout this study were not ‘bottom-up’ initiatives, a quality often associated with successful or sustainable community ventures, but were facilitated, to varying degrees, by external agencies. Although seemingly complex, the governance structures encountered appeared to be functional and also held the initiatives in a web of support. A thick network of agencies, organisations and groups was observed, operating at various levels offering the opportunity to support various governance structures to facilitate community involvement and other partnerships to add value to the woodland initiatives. This has been described as institutional thickness elsewhere and been found to be important in rural development (for example, Day, 1998; Paraskevopoulos, undated).

The social benefits explored by this study were often embedded in other benefits/interests. In other words, people did not primarily become involved in or visit the woods for social reasons, but the social aspect was a spin off from other interests. The study found that many people develop, or build on, keen interests in specific aspects of the wood, or the wood becomes special to them because of particular features. For many people, it is an interest in (local) wildlife that draws them to the woodland initiatives. For others, it is an interest in local history or the arts. The potential for woods to be a forum through which interests in local biodiversity, history and arts are explored and expressed is valuable. Forestry policy explicitly mentions the historic environment of forests as being valuable in contributing to a sense of place and local identity. This study found history to be one

aspect, but wildlife and cultural phenomena to be others. Forestry policy needs to recognise this and the ability of woodland groups to develop and exhibit specific cultural, historic or wildlife related aspects should be supported.

Other roles that emerged in this study that woodland might have in rural development in the Scottish Borders include an increased focus on wildlife tourism. A common feature of rural development initiatives which aimed to attract people to woods was the focus on wildlife, both in terms of local people being interested in their local wildlife, but also in terms of visitor attractions. The Borders promotes itself as a region with a variety of unusual wildlife and is also a scenic area, near large population centres and attracts many visitors. Secondly, providing fuel could increasingly become a key role for forestry. Wood fuel and the associated heating systems are already being supplied by Buccleuch estates, who see them as a major area of potential. Also previously very minor products, such as firewood, are becoming increasingly important for the estate. The lack of gas mains in much of the Borders gives woodfuel a greater competitive advantage over gas than in other areas.

There are also areas thought to be key to hindering forestry's contribution to the local socio-economy which are relevant to policy. The lack of skills, research and development, business skills and manufacturing capacity were all said to be limiting new ventures which might add value locally to forest products. This requires training, funding and investment. Culture was also mentioned as an important limiting factor in several ways – a lack of business culture in the forest sector and a lack of wood-using or wood-connecting culture amongst the public. Cochrane (2006) discusses the various interfaces between culture and the sustainable development process, in particular its relevance to objective setting, efficiency with which natural capital is converted and demand. The cultural constraints observed in this research are relevant to each of these areas. Cultural change is hard to achieve through policy measures and not recognising cultural barriers could prove costly in terms of wasted resources. This study suggested that participation was resulting in small shifts towards a wood-connecting culture, which further justifies support for community involvement initiatives.

As already mentioned, the notion of sustainability runs throughout policy. Projects established and supported by BFT are intended to become independent of BFT support. At their inception, the aim is generally to support the initiatives and assist in capacity building until such a time that the community take over. In the past, BFT can be said to have been too proactive/opportunistic in acquiring plots for community woodlands (in part due to targets set in a grant). In this respect community woodlands were being produced rather than market lead, a trait of forestry policy associated by some with the emphasis on conifer plantations. Community woodlands were established without prior discussion with communities or gauging levels of interest or demand. The widening gap between production and consumption in the provision of countryside recreation and implications for the effectiveness of public expenditure is highlighted by Curry (2001).

BFT's proactive approach has resulted in large workloads for some of the woodlands, such as Glenkinnon, where the communities are not interested in taking on, or in a position to take on, management leading to difficulties in terms of an exit strategy for BFT. As an aside, the study found keen individuals at Glenkinnon and with improved communication between BFT and the community and a push to rejuvenate interest, more involvement may be forthcoming. When BFT involvement is both prolonged and deep, the cost/benefit of the initiatives is questionable and BFT's limited resources are likely to be better targeted elsewhere.

BFT is now more circumspect in taking on new projects and does not become involved in establishing community woodlands without the prior interest of the community. Gordon is an example where BFT assisted the community in the purchase of the wood, and, although still reliant on BFT for some advice, Gordon shows every sign of being a viable, locally run venture with a large local membership, well attended events, high levels of support, minimal evidence of conflicts, and expertise and skills available within the committee and community.

Most of our cases were relatively recent initiatives, but Wooplaw, established by a group of individuals, is 20 years old. During this time, levels of involvement have varied and there have been periods when numbers have been very low. However, a core of committed and resourceful individuals have stayed with the project which has recently received considerable funding for additional facilities and activities. Although Wooplaw maintains a close relationship with BFT, its existence does not appear to be reliant on BFT support.

BFT add to the costs of the initiatives but most of the community woodlands in the Borders, and their associated social and environmental benefits, would not exist without BFT. Working as the focal point and drawing on a network of support and resources, BFT appears to be very efficient in the services they deliver. The flexibility and adaptability of the governance arrangements and mechanisms encountered were able to accommodate varying levels of community involvement. Most of the arrangements which help to physically manage the woodlands, for example between BFT and SWT, are informal and made on a case by case basis. As such, community groups are able to step in to, or take on, any element or quantity of management if and when they feel able, and the informal arrangements and network of partners that BFT have fill in the gaps. The initiatives benefit from voluntary work and other arrangements, such as payments in kind, sharing of equipment and synergies with neighbours which keep costs to a minimum. BFT currently have 1 FTE supporting community woods, which works out at an average cost per wood per year of approximately £1,000. It should be noted that last year, BFT had 1.5 FTE supporting community woodlands and the current lower level is due to reduced funding, not a perceived reduction in demand for support.

The community woods are dependent on grant funding for capital costs and specific projects but some of the community woodlands encountered (Darnick, Lindean and Gordon) were also raising funds locally. Most of the community woods are managed primarily for the use of the local community, but also for the public at large through biodiversity and other 'wider' environmental services. The wider public benefits justify some public funding, but the focus on use by the local community would

suggest that input (financial and/or in-kind) by the community is desirable and equitable and interviewees from the management groups were of the opinion that their local communities should contribute to their woods.

The advantages that community trusts and other charitable bodies have in accessing funds over private landowners needs to be noted. Some private estates have provided significant public benefits through sympathetic woodland management for which they have received no public funding beyond the standard FC grants. For the estate interviewed by this research, this was previously supported by the profitable timber producing part of the estate forestry, but since timber prices have fallen, this cross subsidy is not possible.

7.5 *Concluding remarks*

The areas from which the cases are drawn, although rural, are relatively accessible and benefit from a reasonably affluent and well educated population. This population does not always demand high levels of community engagement and, among the cases, those in the Tweed valley, accustomed to good access, were less interested in involvement compared to the case from the east of the Borders where there is traditionally less countryside access and related amenity.

The study found woodlands in accessible rural areas to be providing social benefits to communities through community participation initiatives. Social capital building and acquisition of knowledge and skills were found to accrue mainly to those involved in the projects whereas an increase in sense of belonging or connection to the area spread to the whole community. The wide appeal of events and improved access were found to lead to shifts in values and attitudes amongst people who were encouraged into woodlands and social inclusion was found to be enhanced through the wide appeal of events and activities and the links to other voluntary organisations, primarily through BFT.

Although the study ascertained whether individuals felt they had benefited socially, it did not explore the degree to which people had benefited or the relative importance of the benefits explored. Some feeling for this was gauged from general questions about what individuals use the woods for and why they visit them. This information put the benefits explored into the context of other benefits such as mental health and the environment. The study found that most people were interested in the woods for nature and the peace and quiet they offered to a greater extent than for social purposes and that social benefits were generally spin offs from other interests. The benefit of the woodland cases in bringing the community together was put in the context of other community initiatives and was found to vary between most people reporting their woodland initiative as being moderately or very good compared to other initiatives in their community to a case where it was clearly on balance considered to not be particularly good.

Although sustainability is the aim of these newly structured and planted woodlands, with a greater emphasis on environmental and social benefits, there is currently minimal economic activity which is generally not seen as a priority. The financial sustainability of such ventures may depend on further development of niche products, coordination of economic ventures and/or financial support from local populations.

Use of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, modified by this study, highlighted the factors that are important in the process by which the benefits are delivered. The factors that contribute to the 'success' of the initiatives in delivering social benefits vary on a case by case basis. For example, in one case the important factors were that the village otherwise lacked access into rural areas, it had the existing social capital to form a community wood association and purchase the wood and very good access was developed. The villagers have been very impressed by the achievement and, having not previously had the opportunity to take part in similar activities, have been inspired to participate in woodland events. In another case the fact that the community is largely new and fragmented means that the woodland initiative gives new residents a means of meeting people and some sense of belonging and, although

social capital levels are low and involvement not forthcoming, if the community woodland manages to overcome the current divisions in the community, it will have had a significant benefit.

Community ownership was not always aspired to and a range of governance arrangements supported community involvement. These structures and the institutions employed by them were flexible in enabling the communities to take on different aspects of management and helped deliver benefits to wider user groups. They were most efficient where they were based on networks between voluntary organisations, trust between agencies and groups and good relationships between neighbouring landowners.

This research has established relationships between outputs and outcomes. The study showed that involvement in management; taking part in work days and attending events were linked to building social capital and acquiring knowledge and skills, suggesting that measurements of participation could be used as proxies for social capital building and acquiring knowledge and skills. This finding contributes to the discussion between Pagdee *et al.* (2006) and Bradshaw (2007) about whether levels of participation is a measure of success of woodland initiatives. This research suggests that, if developing social benefits including social capital and knowledge and skills are objectives of the wood, then participation can be used as one measure of success.

Governance

The findings of the study regarding governance are summarised here and put in the context of literature on rural governance issues and emerging research themes. The study encountered clear examples of the state seeking to govern ‘through communities’ (Murdoch, 1997) where FCS actively sought community involvement as a means to add to the (social) value of the public estate. However, the study also found that many communities probably lack the inclination and/or ability to ‘help themselves’ (which is an assumption implied in rural development policy literature – see Murdoch, 1997) and key third parties are required to facilitate this involvement. Indeed the ‘traditional strengths’ (again mentioned in policy literature such as the

Rural White Papers of 1995 and 2000) of rural communities were by no means evident in all the communities and such terminology is likely to have questionable meaning in many parts of restructured rural Britain.

The case studies revealed examples of different forms of governance - 'principal-agent relations', 'inter-organisational negotiation' and emerging 'systemic coordination' (Stoker, 1998). The relationship between FCS and BFT was an example of the principal-agent form whereby FCS contracted BFT to undertake a task – that of facilitating community involvement and adding value to commercially unviable areas of forest. The Osprey project partnership was an example of the inter-organisational form, involving several organisations negotiating joint projects and, by combining their capacities, they are better able to meet their own organisation's objectives. Although at the outset a principal-agent form, the FCS – BFT partnership displayed elements of the inter-organisational form in that the opportunities afforded to BFT enabled it to further its own objectives. The impression was that both the above mentioned partnerships were tending towards the systemic coordination form in which a level of mutual understanding and embeddedness occurs with the organisations developing a shared vision and joint-working capacity, leading to the establishment of a self-governing network. This transition is an important element in the sustainability of such governance arrangements and a closer examination would be useful. An important aspect of governance as described by Stoker (1998) is that it is a process of adaptation, learning and experiment. In terms of rural land use in the UK, forestry appears to be progressive in embracing the new governance agenda and a study of the process of learning and experiment in some of the more innovative arrangements could be valuable.

The study also noted the presence and usefulness of horizontal and vertical networks. Murdoch (2000) elaborates on this distinction and emphasises the importance of different network types and how different spatial areas may benefit from an emphasis on the development of different types of network, depending on their 'pre-existing conditions' and needs. This study observed that in terms of community involvement in forestry, assistance with vertical links was very important for communities with

little prior experience of involvement in forestry. At the same time, horizontal links were important to facilitate wide community participation and the associated benefits.

Issues of accountability of networks are raised by Stoker (1998). The study found little evidence of conflicts between the various parties to the networks who did not appear to have jeopardised their objectives in the negotiation of the partnerships. Stoker (1998) notes *'Even if all constituents of member groups are satisfied a problem of accountability can still arise since all networks are to a degree exclusive. They are driven by the self-interest of their members rather than a wider concern with the public interest or more particularly those excluded from the network'* (p24). BFT had been unable to fulfil some of their aspirations for community woods due to lack of inclination/ability of the local communities in terms of levels of participation and economic activities. Here the aspirations and capabilities of the local community in part jeopardised the fulfilment of objectives of the partnership. This puts a limitation on the 'value added' of the network and, given the public funding accessed by such networks, further work to determine whether they are in accordance with the interests of the wider public is justified.

Also of key relevance to the governance of forestry is the different supply chains in which it is involved. These relate to the international and national obligations concerning the environment, national policy objectives as well as commercial outlets and the aspirations of local populations. Although discussed in terms of impact on forestry policy, these chains were not discussed from a governance perspective and how they tie in to the local governance arrangements encountered in this study. Taking this broader perspective would be an important aspect of further investigation of the governance arrangements.

Another important aspect of governance largely neglected by this study is that of power relationships. The study observed the governance approaches facilitating the shift from 'power over' to 'power to' but in general there would be scope to study aspects of power in the governance of the cases encountered in this study. A study of

who had been involved in new forms of governance and who hasn't would be of interest. There were key individuals involved in establishing the governance arrangements encountered in this study and the impression was that they were seen as having entrepreneurial qualities. This is also observed by Little (2001) who sees the promotion of more entrepreneurial approaches as part of the new governance culture.

In this study, pro-active individuals and their organisations formed arrangements, but the 'communities' in which the partnerships operated were more determined by the land/forest resource opportunity as opposed to the people in the community. Also, as noted by Goodwin (1998) the political talk of inclusion and empowerment could be in conflict with the paternalistic traditions of many rural areas which may affect who is involved in new governance structures. On a wider geographical scale of interest would be an investigation of the unevenness of community involvement initiatives, reasons for this and FCS (and other) responses.

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Annex 1: Interview protocols

Phase I – Scoping Survey

Question set for:

Woodland owners/managers

General

What lead you to be involved in forestry?

What is your personal vision for forestry in the Borders?

History and management

What is the history of the woodland? – ownership/management, use and other;
What are the management objectives for the woodland? What are their relative importance?

Why? What are the drivers?

Who is involved in managing the woodland?

To what extent do you achieve your objectives? What enables you or hinders you in this process?

Networks/partnerships/linkages

With what agencies/organisations/groups do you have contact in relation to the wood?

What is the role of each?

How does the woodland link with the surrounding area?

Users and beneficiaries

Who uses the woods?

For what purposes?

How would you characterise the various user groups?

Who benefits from the woodlands in the surrounding area? In what way?

Do you think there is potential for the wood to provide more benefits?

What are the constraints?

Key agencies/groups

General

What lead you to be involved in forestry?

What is your personal vision for forestry in the Borders?

Roles and Partners

What is the role of your organisation in the forestry sector and rural development?

With whom do you work?

What is your relationship with these organisations?

Policy instruments/mechanisms

Do you feel that current policy instruments/mechanisms are appropriate and effective? (in general/ in the Borders region) in delivering rural development benefits from forestry?

What are their limitations?

Opportunities and constraints

What do you see as the opportunities for forestry to contribute to rural development in the area?

What are the current constraints?

What is the way forward?

Phase II – Case Studies

Question set: Community members – those identified as being involved in the wood and the ‘wider community.’ The main purpose of the questionnaire to this respondent group was to gauge the social benefits.

Background questions:

Where do you live (nearest town /village)?

How long have you lived in the area?

Are you aware of X community wood? y/n (wider community only)

How did you hear about X community wood?

Did you know that local people are involved in this wood y/n (wider community only)

Is X community wood of interest to you? Yes/only a little/no (wider community only)

If y, in which aspects are you interested? (wider community only)

When did you become involved in X community wood? (those involved only)

Why did you become involved in the wood? (those involved only)

How often do you visit the wood? e.g. once a month

For what purposes?

Since the wood became a community wood have you used it: more/about the same/less?

If your level of use has changed, please explain why.

Have you introduced or taken other people or groups of people to the wood? y/n

If yes, who?

What three words or phrases best describe X community wood from your point of view?

Elements of social capital

When you visit the wood, do you usually go: alone/with others (who)?

How often do you meet other people there? Often/sometimes/rarely

As a result of the community woodland have you made new friends or acquaintances?

How many of these would you consider to be close friends (1-5/5-10/10+), friends (1-5/5-10/10+), acquaintances (1-5/5-10/10+).

As a result of the community woodland have you developed useful contacts? y/n

If y, what do these contacts do?

Have you used the contacts for any purpose? y/n

If y, what?

As a result of the community woodland have you had disagreements with former friends or acquaintances? y/n

Compared to other groups or clubs in the community, do you feel that the community woodland project is good at bringing people together? very/moderately/not particularly.

Please expand

As a result of X community wood project, do you feel there are more people in whom you have trust? More people trusted/less people trusted/ no change

Please expand

As a result of X community wood project, do you feel you have more trust in organisations? Trust increased/trust decreased/no change

Please expand

Has the x community wood project resulted in you taking part in any other local projects, campaigns, groups or initiatives? y/n

If y, what?

Knowledge and skills

Have you acquired new knowledge or skills as a result of X community wood project? y/n

Area of knowledge/skill

How did you acquire it?

What have you used it for?

Identity and sense of belonging

Do you have any products from the wood in your house or garden? y/n

If y, what?

Do you have any pictures on display in your house of the wood? y/n

Do you talk about x community wood with people? Often/sometimes/rarely or no

Are there significant events or occasions connected to x community wood that you remember? y/n

If y, what are they and what did you feel about them?

Since there has been a community wood in x, do you feel differently about the area you live in? y/n/don't know

If y, please describe.

Does the fact that it is now managed by local people make you feel differently about x wood? y/n/don't know

If y, please describe

Cultural capital

Has X community wood project affected your values or attitudes? y/n/don't know
If y, in what way?

Has X community wood project resulted in you changing your regular behaviour or practices? y/n/don't know
If y, what has changed.

Extra questions – triangulation purposes and mechanisms:

When there are work parties in x community wood, how often do you take part?

Usually/sometimes/rarely or never

What do you get out of or how do you benefit from taking part in work parties?

How often do you go to other organised events in, or connected to, the wood?

Usually/sometimes/rarely or never

What do you get out of or how do you benefit from participating in events?

Who do you think should pay for the management of x community wood?

Please indicate your age (1-20/20-35/35-50/50-65/65+)

And gender m/f

Question set: partner organisations.

The questions to partner organisations gathered information regarding the organisational and institutional environment. Questions also served to triangulate information and, in places, to get different perspectives.

For how long have you been involved in community involvement in woodlands?

With whom and in what way?

In your experience what are the advantages and benefits of community involvement?

And what are the disadvantages?

Was there much enthusiasm amongst the community for X community woodland project? A lot/some/only a little

Have levels of enthusiasm changed over time? Increased/remained about the same/decreased/ fluctuated

What do you think affects levels of enthusiasm and interest in the community?

Please describe the origin, development, structure and membership of your organisation.

How does your organisation interact with other organisations in relation to your role as a partner to x community wood?

How do you access resources for x community wood: financial, human, physical.

What limits your ability to access resources for x community wood or undertake certain activities?

Has your experience of working with x community wood group had any effects on the way in which your organisation works?

As a main link/partner to x community wood group, what do you see as your role?

Approximately how often are you in touch with x community wood group?

For what purposes?

As a result of working with x community wood group/community, have you developed useful contacts? y/n
 If y, who are they?
 Have you used them?
 As a result of working with x community wood, have you initiated or become involved in any other projects or activities? y/n
 If y, what have they been and what has your role been?
 Have you provided or facilitated training of any sort for the community?
 Do you think that community involvement in the wood has encouraged new or different wood users? y/n
 If y, who and how?
 As a key partner, do you facilitate social inclusion in any way? y/n
 If y, how?
 Who do you think should pay for your organisation's involvement in community woods?
 Who has funded it to date?

Question set: community woodland group secretary or key contact

The questionnaire to the key contact with in the community collected background information about the community and the development of the woodland and included some questions for triangulation purposes.

Request for map showing woodland and other assets in community.

Prior to the community woodland, were there other community initiatives? y/n
 If y, what and what was the outcomes?

Who initiated the community wood project?
 Was there enthusiasm amongst the community? A lot/some/only a little
 Have levels of enthusiasm changed over time? Increased/remained about the same/decreased/fluctuated
 What is the nature of the local population and area and what do you think affects levels of enthusiasm?
 Approximately how many times a year do you have work parties in the wood?
 Approximately how many times a year do you have other events?
 Have the number of work parties or events increased or decreased over recent years and why?

How did the community wood group evolve and develop?
 How many members does it have and who are they?
 How does the group interact with other organisations?
 How does the group access financial resources?
 How does the group access human resources?
 How does the group access physical resources?
 What limits your ability to access resources or undertake certain activities?
 What are the objectives of the community wood project?
 What have the main activities and outputs been?

Who are the main beneficiaries?

As a result of the community wood have any other groups or initiatives emerged? y/n
If y, what?

Has the use of the wood increased as a result of it being a community wood?
y/n/don't know

Who tends to use the wood who didn't use it before and for what purposes?

Does anyone who used to use the wood no longer do so and why?

Who do you think should pay for the management of the wood?

Who has funded the community woodland to date?

Annex 2

Case Study: Gordon Community Wood

1.0 Background

1.1 The wood and surrounding area

Gordon community wood lies about 1 mile to the East of the village of Gordon and extends to 84 ha. Gordon is in the East of the Scottish Borders. The nearest towns are Duns, 12 miles away and Kelso, about 14 miles away. It is approximately 35 miles from Edinburgh. The wood is made up of recently planted mixed broadleaves (about 95%) and mature stands of mixed broadleaves and conifers. Previously the only point of access into the wood was from the road, about 1 mile from the village centre. Since the construction of a bridge, the wood can be accessed directly from the village centre by means of a path.

The eastern half of the Borders is characterised by relatively high quality farm land with woodlands being sparse and small. Typically, Gordon is surrounded by farm land. The community wood is the *'only place one can go for a walk without getting into a car'* (interviewee). There is a nature reserve, 'Gordon Moss' adjoining the village, but it is overgrown and access is very poor.

The village is comprised of approximately 200 households. There is a mixture of housing. It is a relatively compact village and is centred on a crossroads. It has a village shop, a bowling club, a play park, a primary school and a village hall. It was described as a 'mixed village' with a balance of retired people, commuters, local tradesmen and farmers.

The community is relatively active and recent initiatives include: several fundraising activities by the school which have generally achieved their goals; a play park initiative where funds were raised for a cycling track and new play area, and a joint Gordon-Westruther street cleaning initiative. Also, in common with other villages/towns in the Borders, it has an annual civic week with a series of events.

1.2 The development of the community wood

The community wood project was initiated by the Borders Forest Trust (BFT). The wood had been on the market for a year when BFT wrote to the nearby residents to gauge interest in the possibility of it being purchased for a community wood. Shortly afterwards, in May 2001, BFT organised a public meeting for local people with the Scottish Land Fund (SLF) and the Rural Resource Centre. As a result, a core group of people from Gordon decided to make an application to the SLF for community consultations and the formation of a company which was successful. The community consultation, consisting of a questionnaire, drop-in afternoon, an organised walk around the wood and an open meeting, was completed in October 2001. It generated a positive response from the community, with all households supporting the idea of a community wood. The fundraising was completed in April 2002 and the Gordon Community Woodland Trust was given charitable status in July 2002 which enabled the purchase to go ahead. A registered company limited by guarantee has also been set up for trading purposes. The official opening of the community wood was in September 2002.

The Trust has a chairman, treasurer and secretary and a committee of 10. People who live in Gordon can become members for an annual subscription of £2, giving them voting rights. There is also an associate membership for people who live outwith the village with no voting rights for an annual subscription of £1. There are currently about 60 members and the number of members has remained roughly constant since the wood was purchased.

1.3 Objectives and activities

The objectives of the Community Wood Trust are *‘to manage our community woodland as a haven for wildlife and an amenity for the people of Gordon and the general public for recreation’*.

Main activities have been:

- The official opening in Sept 02
- A number of work days – beating up, pruning and planting
- Selling Christmas trees from the wood
- Events in the wood such as Halloween, bonfire night, wildlife walks
- Social events in the village hall such as ceilidhs
- Installing bird and bat boxes made by the Gordon disability workshop
- Producing and distributing a six monthly newsletter to all households in the village plus members out with the village.
- Constructing a pond
- Putting up signs and improving paths
- Building a bridge

1.4 Relationships with other organisations

The main contact for the woodland group is BFT. BFT provide general advice, help at events, lead children’s activities and attend meetings. The Council Ranger Service also assists the community woodland through providing rangers to lead walks. Membership of the Borders Forum and the Community Wood Association provides access to advice and opportunities for networking and sharing information. The community wood is also linked to the Forestry Commission and other donors who provide funds.

1.5 Accessing resources

a) Financial:

A grant from the Scottish Land Fund, supplemented by smaller grants from the Council, SNH, other trusts and donations from the local community (who raised about £20,000) enabled the wood to be purchased.

The wood had been planted by the previous owner in the mid 1990s with a FC grant and subsequent instalments are received by the Gordon Community Woodland Trust. Another FC grant has paid for improved access, a bridge and path, and interpretation signs. The Trust also received a lump payment for fibre optic and power lines running through the wood which is to be invested.

Membership subscriptions contribute a small amount and cover the costs of producing the newsletter.

b) Physical:

The Association owns two pruning saws and two shovels. People who come to work days usually bring their own tools. The village has a computer and printer available for use in the village hall although committee members tend to use their own equipment at home.

c) Human:

The committee is inclined to hire contractors to carry out any heavy work. BFT is able to organise volunteers if needed through their links with organisations such as SWT and Conservation Volunteers. As well as specific work days, some committee members do much additional light work in the wood such as pruning and removing tree guards.

Accessing resources is generally constrained by the available time of people on the management committee.

1.6 The interviewees

Committee members	8
Coffee morning	8
Quota sample of village	29
Total	37

Committee members were all members of the Gordon Community Woodland Trust. Coffee morning interviewees were individuals targeted in a haphazard fashion at a coffee morning during the Gordon civic week. The quota sample from the village was attained through approaching every 10th house and either carrying out an interview or leaving a questionnaire to be completed and posted. The response rate for the posted questionnaire was 20/20, 100%.

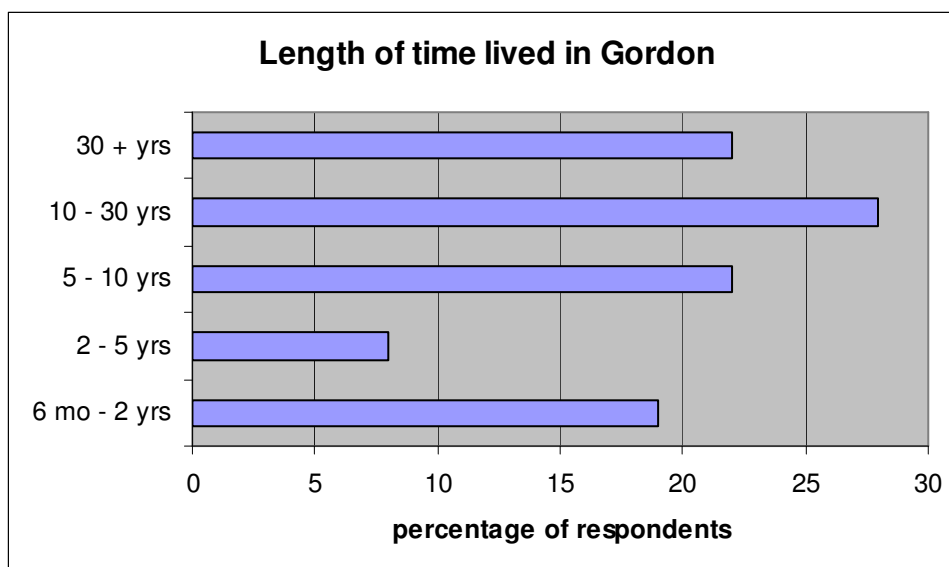
Male	22%
Female	78%

There was an imbalance in the proportion of males and female respondents with over 75% being female. Despite the interviews in the village being carried out on a Saturday, nearly all respondents found at home were female.

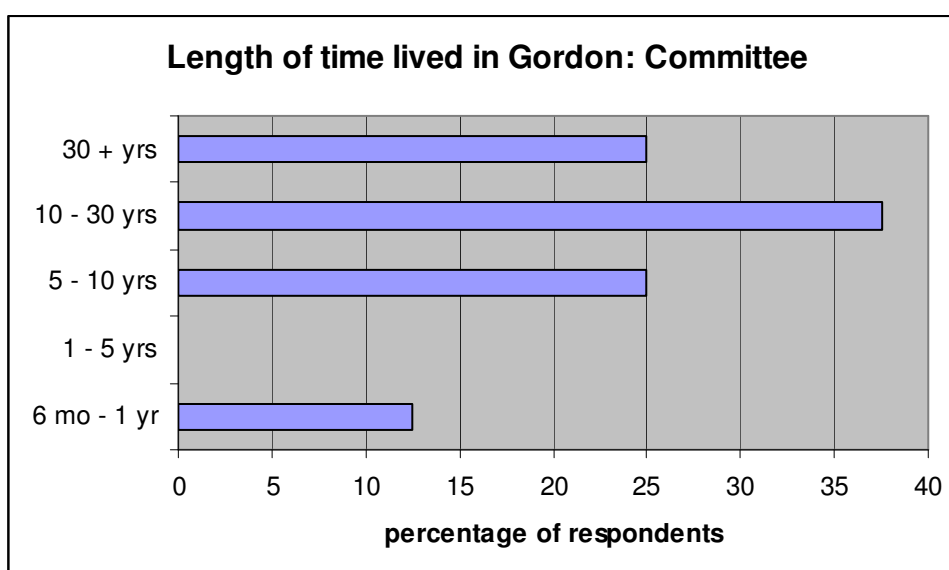
Age	
1 – 20	3%
21 – 35	6%
36 – 50	33%
51 – 65	39%
66 +	19%

The above shows the distribution of ages of respondents with the largest portions falling into the 51 – 65 and 36 – 50 age groups.

The average length of time respondents had lived in Gordon was 19 years. The below graph shows the distribution of length of time lived in the village.



The average length of time lived in Gordon for committee members was 18 years, very similar to the average for all respondents (19.25). The below graph shows the distribution of length of time lived in the village for committee members. It shows that the committee is made up of people who have lived in Gordon for various lengths of time and roughly reflects the distribution for all respondents in Gordon.



Committee members were asked why they had become involved in the project. This was an open ended question and respondents could give one or more answers. A wide range of reasons were given which were categorised as below:

Reason for involvement		
	n	%
Interest in wildlife	3	38
Interest in woodland	1	13
Other interest	3	38
Desire for amenity	1	13
Special place	1	13
Concern about use of land	3	38
To benefit village or community	3	38
Approve of project	2	25
Social	1	13
Wanted involvement in something (local)	2	25
	n = 8	

The table shows that 3 committee members, 38%, were motivated by an interest in wildlife and nature – *‘interest in environment and nature and wildlife’*, *‘natural history’*. Also mentioned by 3 people were other interests – *‘dry stone walling’*, *‘interest in local history’*; a concern about the use of that piece of land – *‘wanted to bring into village rather than someone else buy it and it be private’*; and to benefit the village or community – *‘thought it would benefit village’*, *‘put something back into the community’*. Mentioned by 2 committee members was a general approval of the project and the desire to get involved in something – *‘things to do in retirement’*, *‘to get involved in the community’*. Also mentioned, once each, were an interest in woodland, an attachment to the place and the social element of involvement in such a project.

2.0 Interest in and use of the woods

2.1 Awareness of and interest in the wood

Respondents (other than those who were known to be involved) were asked about whether they were aware of the wood, aware of community involvement and were interested in the initiative.

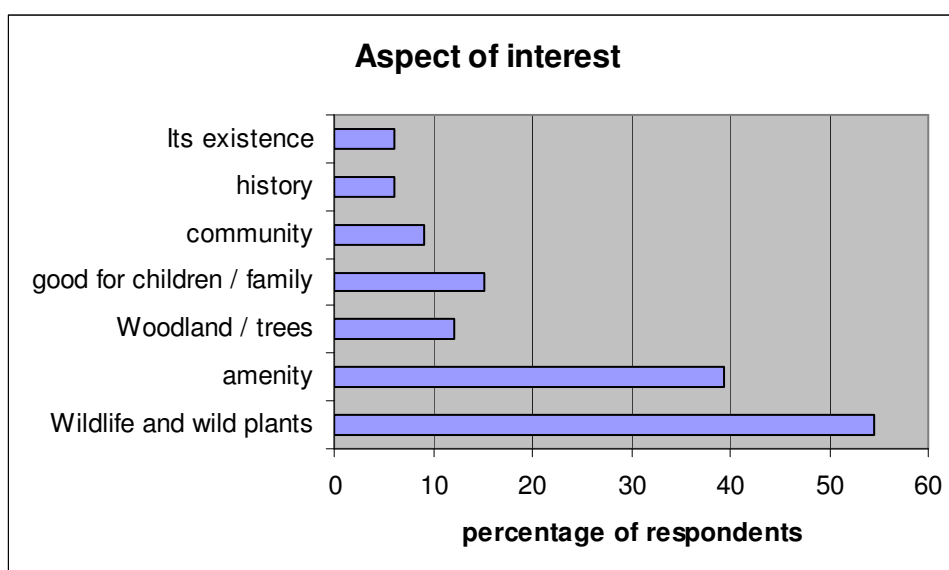
	Aware of wood				Aware of community involvement				interest					
	Yes		No		Yes		No		yes		A little		no	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Gordon	29	100	0	0	29	100	0	0	21	71	6	21	2	8

The table shows that in Gordon all interviewees were aware of the wood and of the community involvement. Over 70% of the community were interested in the initiative, 21% were a little interested and only 2 respondents, 8%, were not interested.

Areas of interest

Respondents were asked in what aspect of the wood they were interested. This was an open question. Four respondents did not answer. Responses were grouped into the categories shown in the table and graph below.

Aspect of interest	n
Wildlife and wild plants	18
amenity	13
Woodland / trees	4
good for children / family	5
community	3
history	2
Its existence	2



The most popular area of interest was wildlife and wild plants, mentioned by 55% of respondents answering this question – *‘protection of nature and wildlife’*, *‘management of local ecosystems’*, *‘flowers’*; followed by amenity, mentioned by 39% of respondents – *‘place to go for a walk’*, *‘walking’*, *‘area to walk dogs’*. As a good place and educational resource for children was mentioned by five respondents (15%) – *‘nice for children’*, *‘good for family’*. An interest in woodland and trees was mentioned by 12% of respondents – *‘planting and management’*, *‘trees’*; the community element of the project was mentioned by 8% and 5% mentioned an interest in the history of land use in the area and the existence of the wood - *‘happy that there’*.

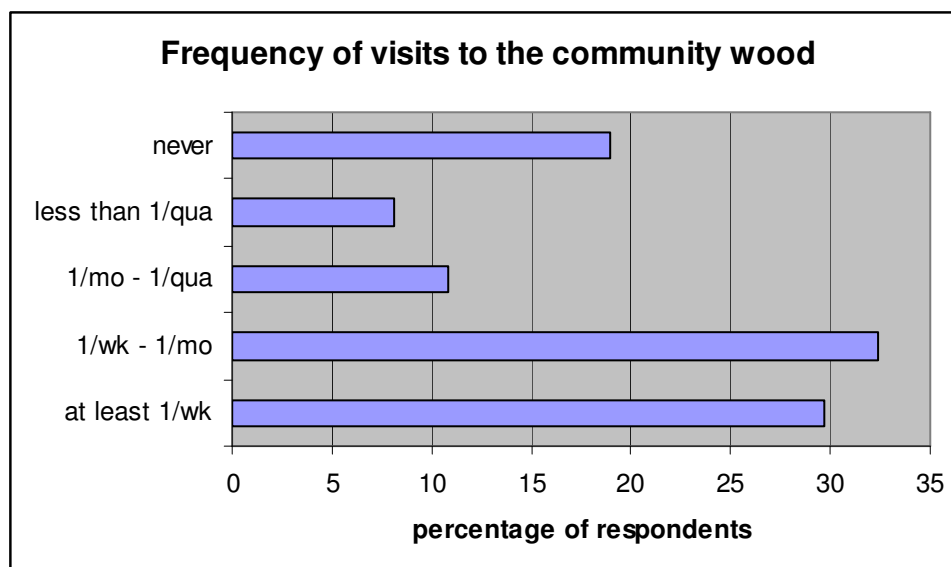
2.2 Use of the woods

There was access to the wood before it was a community wood, but it was generally only used by people living next to it. There was no pedestrian access from the village. Since it has become a community wood, paths and access have been improved and people have been encouraged to use the wood. The committee have restricted horse riding to one path only and do not encourage hunting or shooting. Although the wood, in general, is used much more now, these specific user groups

may feel that access has been constrained since the wood became a community wood.

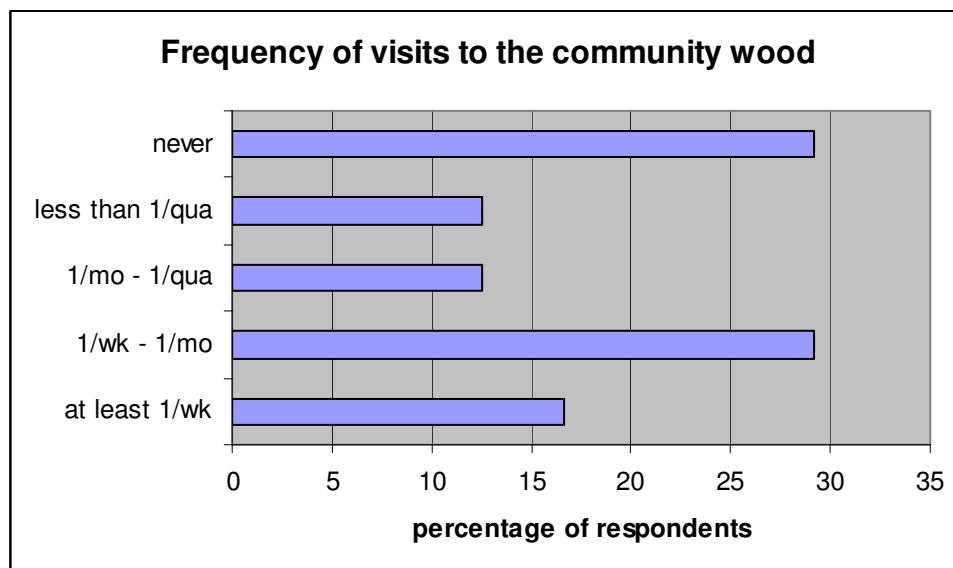
The community wood serves the community of Gordon, defined as ‘*everyone who lives within the region of the Electoral Register of Gordon*’.

Respondents were asked how often they visited the wood.



Overall, eleven respondents, nearly 30%, visit the wood once a week or more and 33% visit it less than once a week but at least once per month. Eleven per cent of respondents visit it less than once a month but at least once a quarter, 8% visit it less than four times a year and 19%, 7 respondents, had never visited it. Of these, three intended to.

Looking at the wider community, omitting responses from targeted committee members, gives the below distribution.

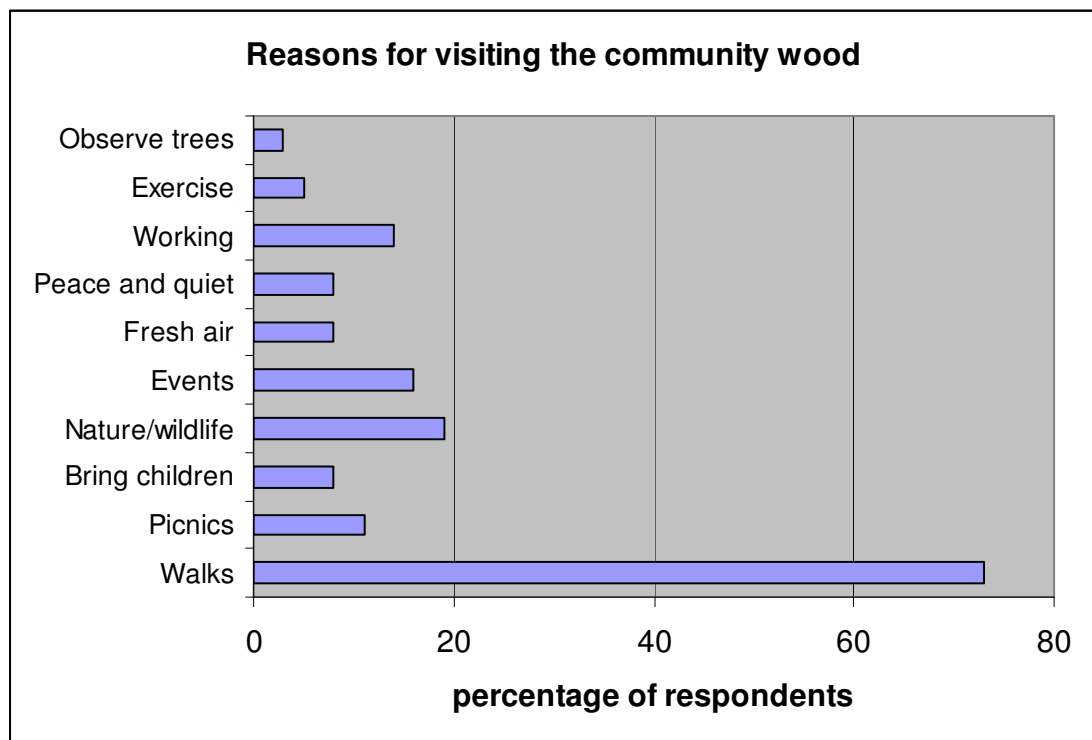


This shows that over 70% of the wider community have visited the wood with 17% using it at least once a week and 29% using it less than weekly but at least once a month. Nearly 30% of the wider community had not used the wood, but nearly half of them implied that they intended to do so.

The wood is used by the primary school for activities such as tree planting and pond dipping. The school is an 'eco-school' (schools have to apply to get this status) and is keen to build involvement into the curriculum whenever possible.

2.3 Reasons for visiting

The chart below shows the reasons people visit the wood. This was an open ended question and was answered by all respondents who visited the wood, each giving between one and three reasons. Responses were grouped into the categories shown below.



The main reason, given by over 70% of the respondents, was to go for a walk – ‘walks’, ‘walking dog’. Nineteen percent of respondents said they went to the wood to look at wildlife or wild plants – ‘looking at wildlife and flowers’, ‘bird watching’. Sixteen percent said they went for events and 14% to carry out work in the wood – ‘work on wall’, ‘path mapping’, ‘working’. Other reasons for visiting were to have picnics, to take the children out, for peace and quiet, to get fresh air, to get exercise and to observe trees.

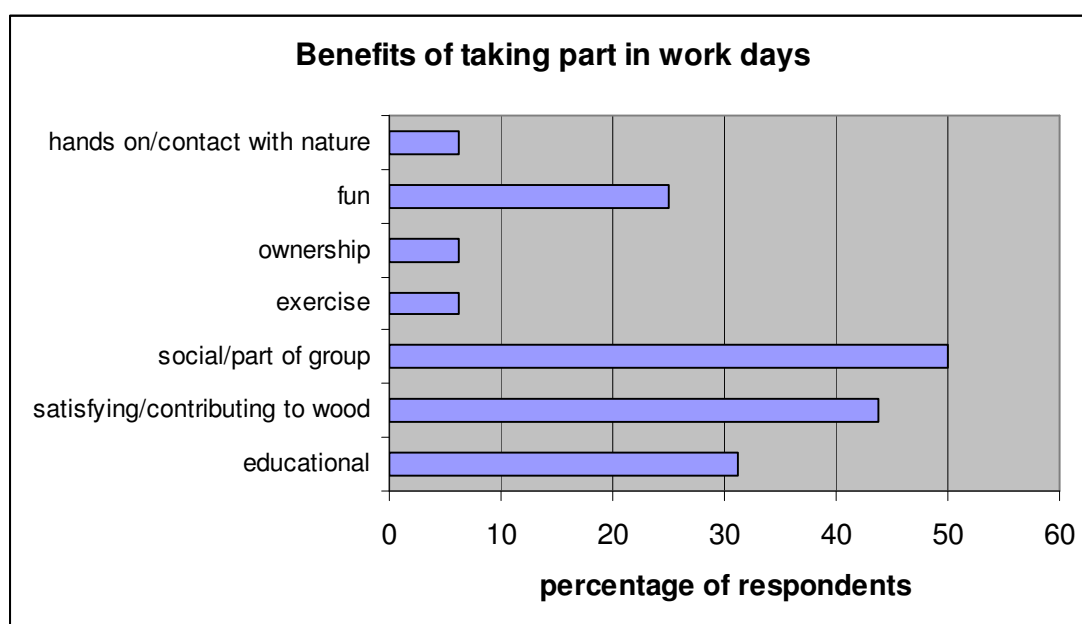
2.4 Work days and events

Work days

Heavy work is carried out by contractors, but there have been 7 work days for tree planting, brashing up and pruning since 2002. They are organised by the committee and advertised through the biannual newsletter, the local paper, on Border Radio and on signs posted at the car parks, in the wood and on the village notice board. Big events are also advertised in the annual ‘out and about’ guide for the Borders. Turn out at work parties has been rather disappointing for the committee with numbers usually being between 6 and 8. In addition, BFT organised two tree planting days for the primary school in 2004. Twenty one and twenty three children attended them.

Six respondents (16%), said that they usually take part in work days (five of these were committee members) and 10 respondents (27%) said that they sometimes take part. Twenty respondents (56%) had never taken part in a work day. Respondents were also asked in what ways they benefited from taking part in work days.

Responses were grouped into categories shown in the graph below.



The social element of work parties and feeling part of a group was the most cited benefit, mentioned by 50% of those taking part, – *‘fun to work and achieve things with others’*, followed by satisfaction at contributing to the wood – *‘satisfaction at seeing progress made in the wood’*. Its educational benefit was mentioned by 5 respondents and the fact that work parties are fun was mentioned by 4 respondents – *‘good fun’*. Contact with nature *‘sense of belonging with people and nature’*, exercise and sense of ownership were each mentioned by one respondent.

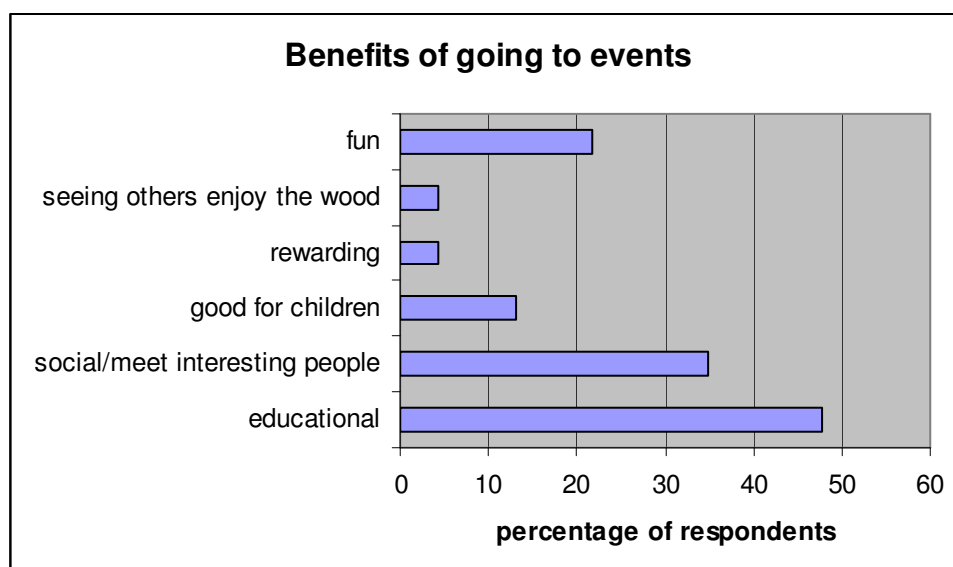
Events

Two to three events a year are organised. They are organised by the committee and advertised through the biannual newsletter the local paper, on Border Radio and on signs posted at the car parks, in the wood and on the village notice board. Events have become very popular and there may be enough demand to increase the number of events. However, committee members who organise events are constrained by time available.

Date	event	Number attending
May 2004	Unveiling new sign	15
May 2004	Flora and fauna walk	35
July 2004	Bat walk	43
Oct 2004	Halloween	65
May 2005	Flora and fauna walk	50
August 2005	Creatures of the night	45

Forty four percent of respondents (14) usually attended events, 24% sometimes went to events and 24% never went.

Those respondents who attended were asked in what way they benefited. This was an open ended question and responses were categorised as shown in the chart below.

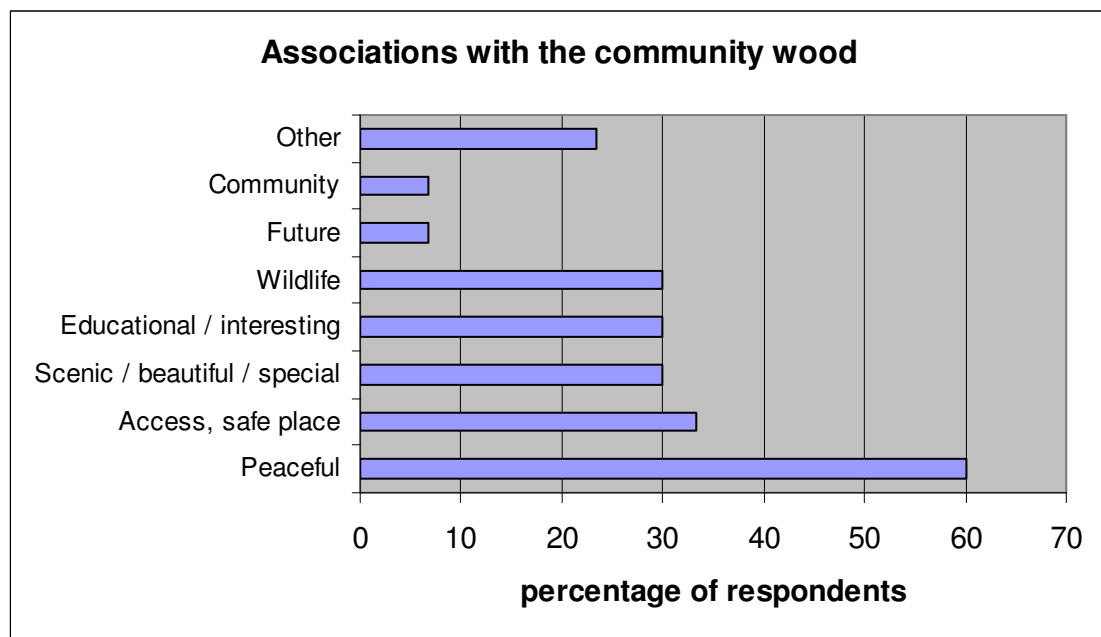


The scope to learn something was mentioned by nearly half the respondents who attended events as one of the ways in which they benefit – *‘learn interesting things’*, *‘local knowledge’*, *‘information on flora and fauna’*. Being a good forum for meeting interesting people and as social occasions was mentioned by 35% of those who go to events – *‘meet a lot of different people’*, *‘meet interesting people’*, *‘social thing’*. Other benefits expressed were that they are fun and good for the children. Those involved in organising the events also find them rewarding and benefit from seeing other people enjoying the wood.

2.5 Associations with the wood

Respondents were asked for three words or phrases they associated with the wood. This was an open ended question and seven respondents did not answer. Responses were grouped into the below categories.

Word or phrase	n
Peaceful	18
Access, safe place	10
Scenic / beautiful / special	9
Educational / interesting	9
Wildlife	9
Regeneration / developing / future	2
Community	2
other	7



Peace and quiet was mentioned by 60% of respondents answering this question – *‘peaceful’, ‘away from the business of everyday life’, ‘secluded’*. The access it affords was mentioned by 33% of respondents – *‘within easy walking distance’, ‘paths easy to walk on’, ‘freedom’, ‘safe’*. Wildlife and wild plants were mentioned by nine people, 30% of respondents, – *‘full of wildlife’, ‘improving habitats’, ‘a large wild space, unspoilt’*. Also mentioned by 30% was its beauty or attractiveness – *‘lovely’, ‘a wonderful place to go’, ‘scenic’,* and that it is educational and interesting – *‘interesting’, ‘making children aware of nature’, ‘increasing public awareness’, ‘encouraging local interest in the environment’*. Community and future were each mentioned by 7% of respondents – *‘community’, ‘regeneration’, ‘looking to the future’*. Other associations mentioned just once were *‘hard work’, ‘proud’, ‘enjoyable’, ‘great asset’, ‘exciting project’, ‘surprise’*. There was one negative response *‘someone is profiting’*.

3.0 Social Benefits

3.1 Social Capital building

3.1.1 Making friends

Twenty respondents, 65% of those who had visited the wood, said that they had made friends or acquaintances as a result of the community wood. Distinguishing between close and less close relationships, 6 of these (30%) had made some close friends, 65% had made friends and 90% had made acquaintances.

The proportion making friends and close friends was much higher amongst committee members. Of the committee, 8 (100%) had made friends and of those, 3 (38%) had made close friends.

3.1.2 Making and using contacts

Thirteen respondents, 45% of those who had visited the wood, said that they had made contacts and of those, 10 (77%) said that they had used these contacts. In general contacts had been used to access information for personal interests and gardens, but also links were made to other community groups and contacts were used to run a sponsored walk for a local project and other aspects of fundraising. Amongst the committee the proportion of respondents making contacts was much higher, 6 respondents (75%) had made contacts and, of these, 5 (83%) had used them.

3.1.3 Leading onto other initiatives

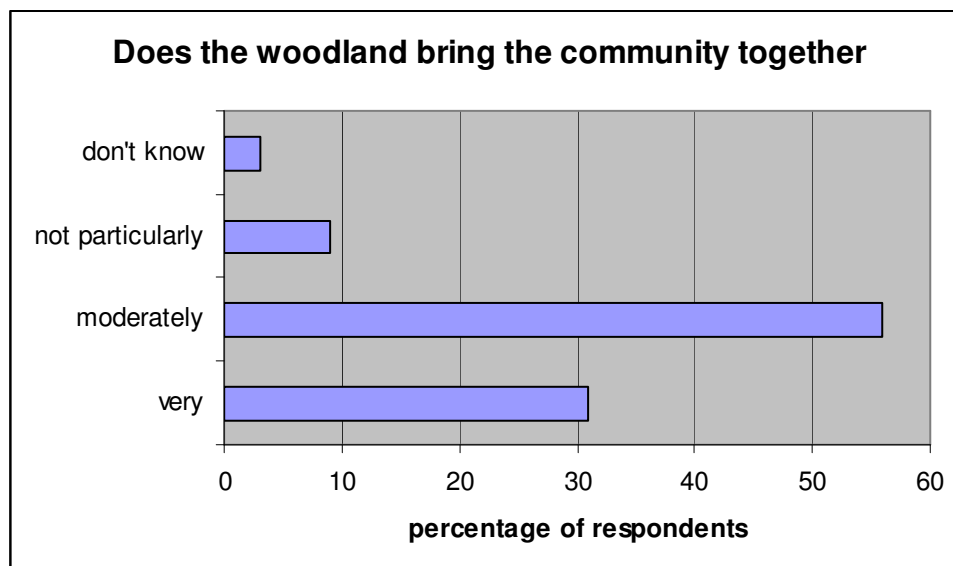
Respondents were asked if they had become involved in any organisations, projects or initiatives as a result of the Community Woodland, or if, on the other hand, they had become less inclined to be involved in other things.

Four respondents (13%) said that, as a result of the community woodland project, they had become involved in other initiatives. Two respondents were committee members who had become involved in further woodland related groups through BFT. One respondent had become involved in the Play Park project and another had become more involved in 'community projects' (unspecified). Two respondents said that they would be less inclined to be involved in other things due to the time they already commit to the community woodland.

The woodland secretary suggested that the success of the Play Park initiative could, in part, be attributed to the community wood. *'Although the Play Park is run by a different set of people, the success of the wood meant that there was a degree of confidence/optimism and people felt that this could work.'* Another committee member: *'It was a big achievement to get the wood and the Play Park probably feel that – (they) see what is possible'* From another respondent: *'The wood has been a big thing because it belongs to the village. Different groups reinforce each other – there are lots of things happening It has sparked off interest in the history of the area and there has been a recent project to look at the history of the village.'* Lastly: *'Initiatives such as the community woodland build confidence, (people) realise what they can do'.*

3.1.4 Bringing people together

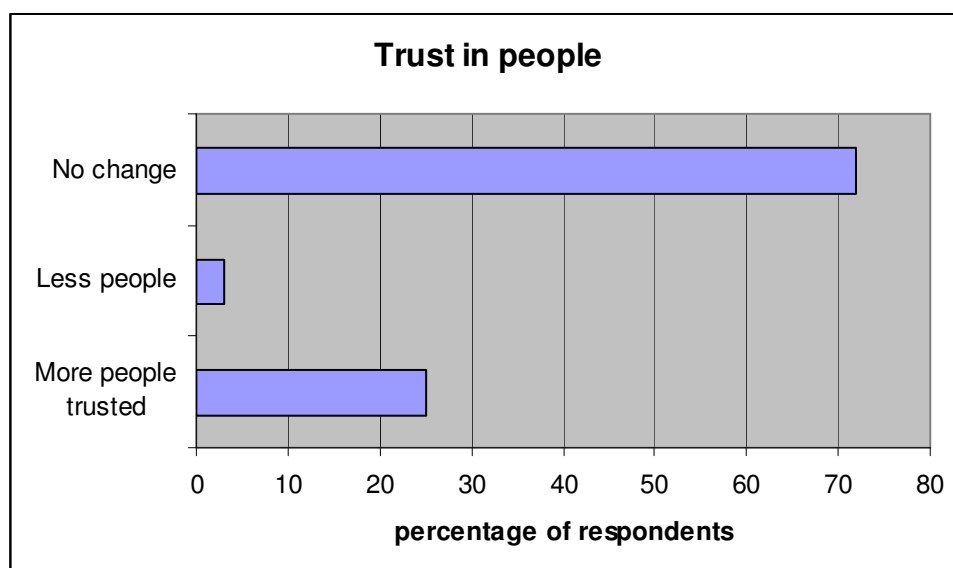
Respondents were asked whether they thought, compared to other initiatives or clubs in the village, the community wood was good at bringing people together.

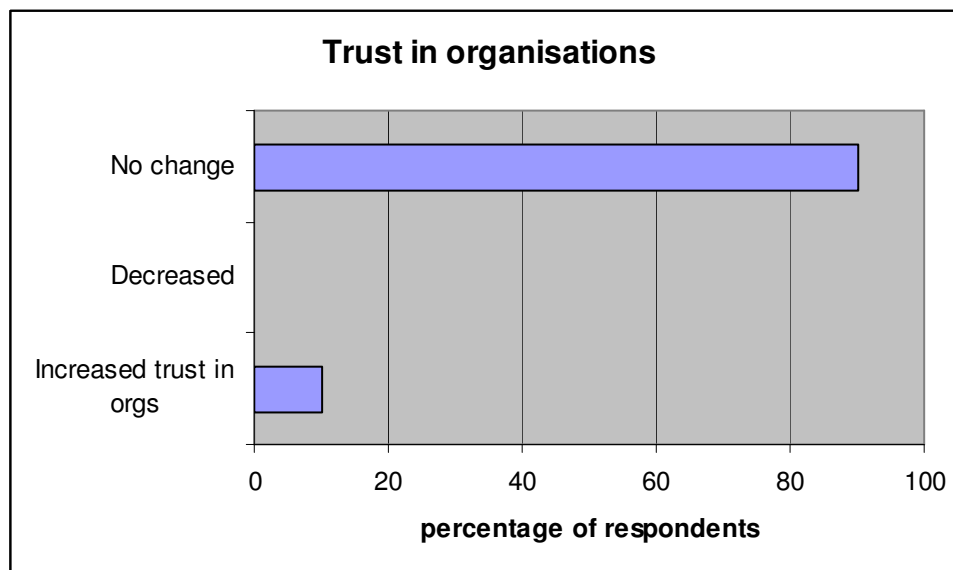


31% of respondents thought that the community wood was very good at bringing people together, 56% said it was moderately good and 10% thought that it was not particularly good. Many (14) respondents added that the events are very good at bringing people together. Two respondents added that people new to the village especially benefited. Seven people remarked that the wood is a very inclusive as it involves the school and children and families often attend events and visit the wood – *‘a facility that appeals to all age groups’*, *‘events brought all ages to the woodland from all walks of life’*. Another respondent remarked that it is a *‘talking point’* and in that way brings people together.

3.1.5 Levels of trust

Respondents were asked whether they felt that their levels of trust had changed, either in the number of people they trusted or the extent to which they felt they trusted organisations, since the woodland initiative was developed.



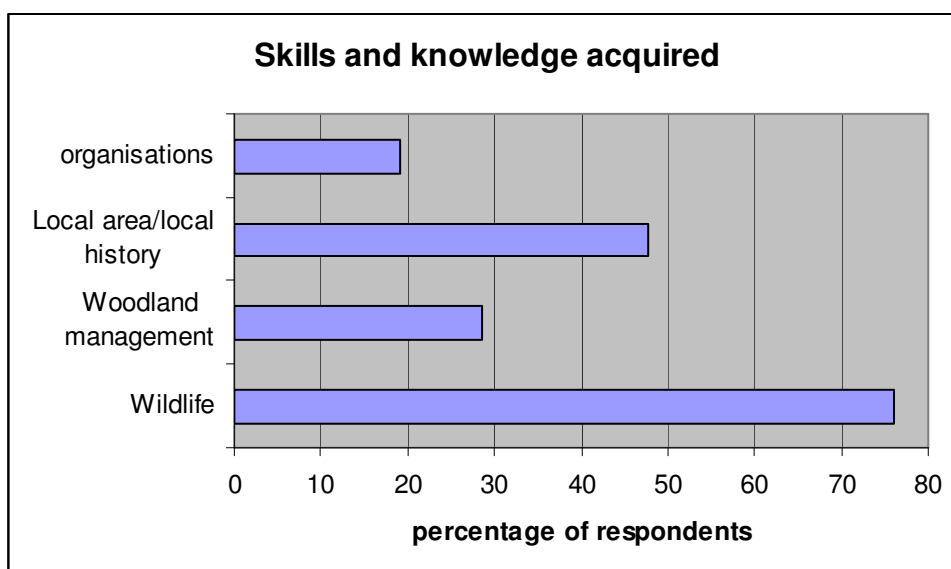


Twenty five percent of respondents felt that there were more people in whom they had trust and 10%, felt that they now had more trust in organisations. One respondent felt that they now trusted less people. This respondent commented that *'someone was profiting (from the community woodland)'*. Increases in levels of trust were largely experienced by those most closely involved in the wood, with 6 out of the 8 respondents who experienced increased trust in people being committee members and 2 out of the 3 respondents who experienced increase trust in organisations being committee members. Trust in people had developed through sharing the responsibilities associated with managing the wood and relying on other people (mainly committee members) to contribute. In addition someone commented on the amount of voluntary input from villagers, local farmers, contractors and craftspeople. Also one respondent reported that they had *'become more realistic of what one can expect – I've learnt to trust individuals, but not the community'*. Increase in trust in organisations was a result of the assistance and time given by various agencies.

3.2 Skills and knowledge

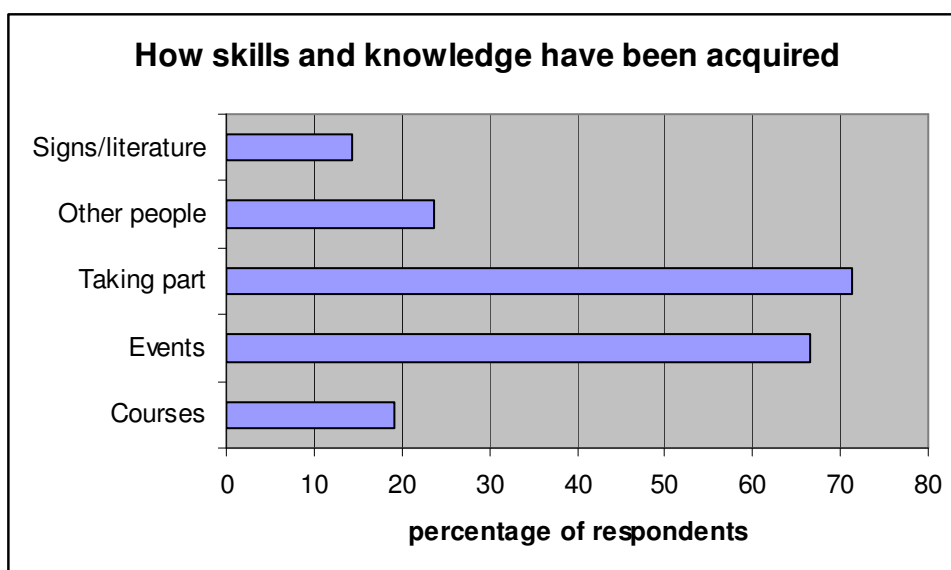
Respondents were asked if they had acquired any new knowledge or skills as a result of being involved in, or visiting, the wood. They were also asked what they had used the acquired knowledge and skills for. This question wasn't answered very well and results may under-represent the levels of knowledge or skill acquired.

Twenty one respondents (57%) said that they had learnt things as a result of the community wood. This proportion was much higher amongst the committee members, where 100% said that they had acquired knowledge and/or skills.



Regarding what respondents had learnt about, 16 people (76 % of those that had learnt something) had acquired wildlife related knowledge, 48% had learnt about history and other things about the local area, 29% had learnt about woodland management and 19% had learnt about managing organisations.

Respondents were asked how they had acquired knowledge and skills. This was an open ended question and responses were categorised as shown in the graph below.



Respondents had acquired information largely through going to events or ‘taking part’ (please note that ‘taking part’ is likely to include going to events). A few of the committee had also been on specific courses and several people had learnt things from signs in the wood. Other people were also a source of knowledge for 24% of respondents.

Acquired practical knowledge was generally used in the wood and at home. Information about wildlife and the local area tended to be used for personal interest and in respondents' gardens and surroundings. Several respondents, as a result of learning something, had developed an interest and pursued it. Additionally, one respondent used information for a school project, another for lessons, one for a Borders Environmental Challenge initiative and one for a project for visually impaired people.

3.3 Identity and sense of belonging

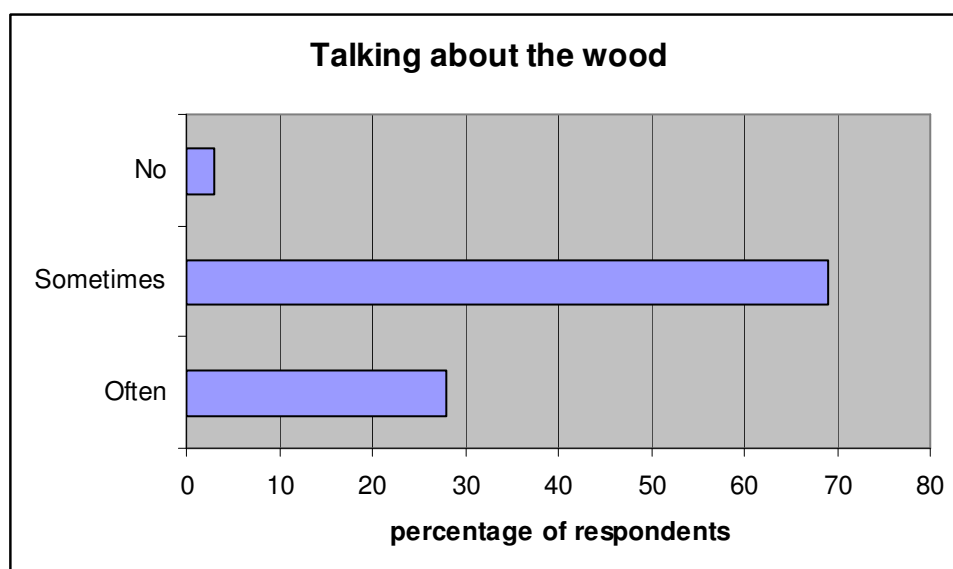
3.3.1 Woodland products and pictures.

Respondents were asked whether they had any products from the wood or pictures of the wood at home as an indication of the connection they felt to the wood. Products were subsequently divided into three categories – ornamental, items of interest and useful objects (or materials to make useful objects).

Eight respondents (27% of respondents who had visited the wood) had products from the wood. Generally (six respondents) things were taken for ornamental purposes – fir cones, feathers, stones, sticks. Two people had made useful things from wood – a walking stick, shelf and table. One person had collected plant specimens. Six respondents (20%) had pictures of the wood or activities in the wood on display at home.

3.3.2 Talking about the Community wood

As an indication of how prominent the community wood was in peoples lives, respondents were asked if they talked about it at home.

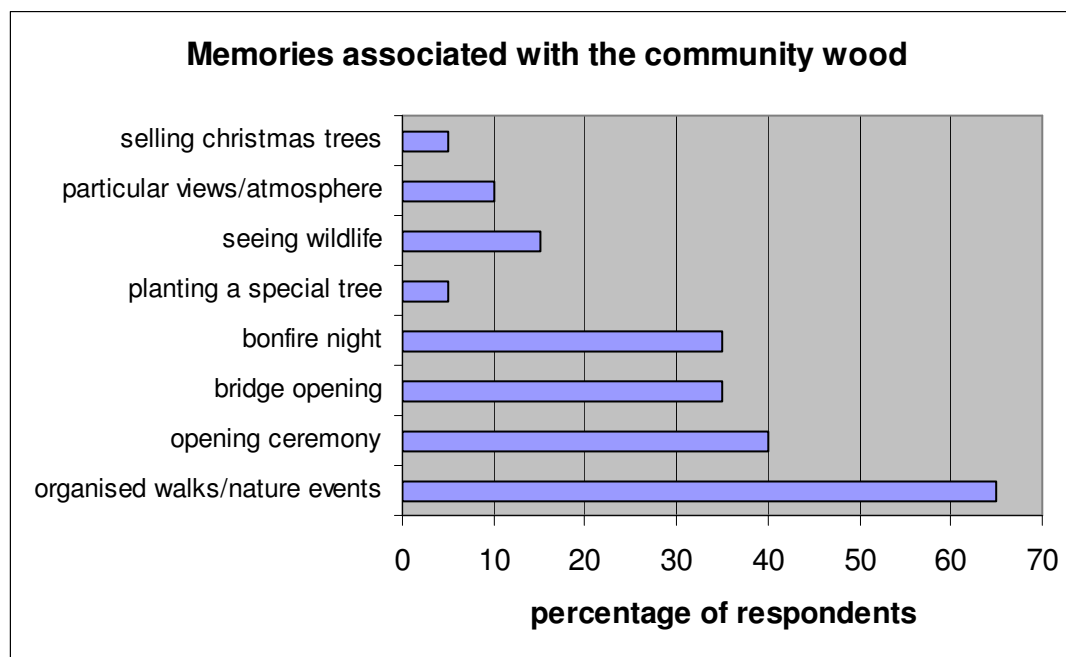


As the chart shows, nearly 30% of respondents talked about the community woodland often and nearly 70% talked about it sometimes. Less than 5% said that it wasn't something that was talked about in their household.

3.3.3 Memories

Respondents were asked if they had any particular memories of times spent in the wood.

Twenty respondents (67% of those who use the wood) said that they had particular memories associated with the wood.

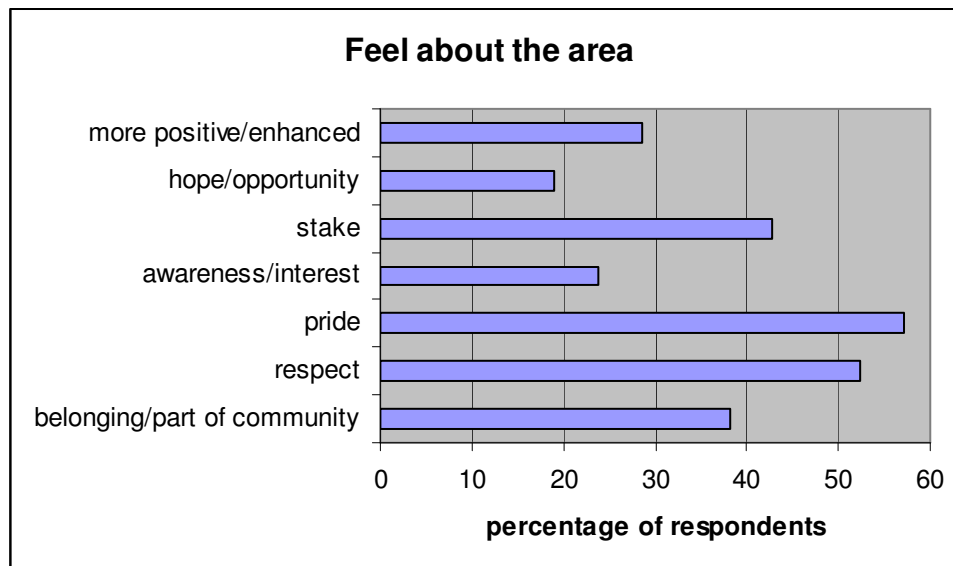


The organised walks and wildlife related events featured most prominently, mentioned by 65% of those that had particular memories. Other significant events remembered by a number of people were the bridge opening, bonfire night and the opening ceremony. A few respondents described occasions where they had had good views of wildlife or found something interesting or remembered particular views or atmospheres experienced in the wood.

3.3.4 Feel about the area

Twenty one respondents (64%) said that the community wood had changed the way that they felt about the area they live in.

Respondents were invited to expand their answer and responses were categorised as shown in the chart below.



Twelve respondents, or 57% of those who said they felt differently about the area, mentioned increased pride in the area – *‘proud to be part of community with such a beautiful woodland’*. Fifty two percent mentioned increased respect for people in the community – *‘realisation that there are many enlightened people around’*, *‘respect for those that made it happen’*. Forty three percent mentioned that they felt they had a stake or a degree of control over their surroundings – *‘wood belongs to us’*, *‘it is there to be shared by us all’*, *‘has been a big thing because it belongs to the village’*. Thirty eight said that it had enhanced their sense of belonging or community - *‘more involved in the community’*, *‘greater sense of belonging’*, *‘greater connection and belonging’*. Twenty nine percent said that they feel that the area has been enhanced and feel more positively about it - *‘more positive about the area ... gives Gordon an extra plus’*, *‘means it is a nice place to live in’*, *‘good asset’*, *‘improved the amenity of the area – it was mentioned by the estate agent in house particulars’*. Twenty four percent said that it had made them more aware of and interested in their surroundings – *‘much more aware of history of local area’*, *‘closer to nature’*, *‘aware of different trees, plants, wildlife (in the area)’*. Lastly, nineteen percent mentioned that it has brought hope for the village *‘it symbolises hope for the village/community’*.

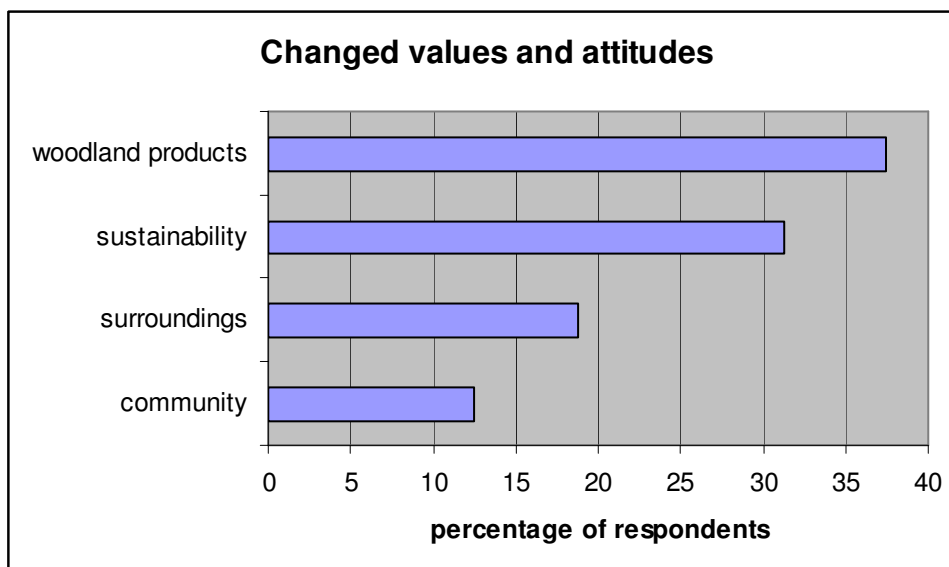
3.4 Culture

To gauge whether the community woodland was having any impact on culture, respondents were asked if their values or regular practices had changed at all as a result of the woodland initiative.

	Changed values or attitudes			Changed habits or regular activities		
	n	%	Valid %	n	%	Valid %
Yes	12	32	43	7	19	24
No	16	43	57	22	59	76
Not answered	9	24		8	22	
total	37	100	100	37	100	100

a) Attitudes and values

Twelve respondents (43%)* claimed that their values or attitudes had altered (generally marginally) as a result of the community wood and sixteen (57%) said that the wood had had no affect on their values or attitudes. *Nine respondents did not answer this question (of these, 5 had not visited the wood) and it is likely that the proportion of respondents with changed attitudes/values is lower than 43% in reality.



In connection with changed values or attitudes, six respondents (38% of those whose values/attitudes had been affected) mentioned that their attitude towards sources and use of woodland products had changed – *‘more aware and interested in the sources and sustainability of woodland products’*. Thirty one percent of respondents mentioned how the community wood had strengthened their values connected to the environment and sustainability, *‘made me think more about the interconnectedness of different life forms’*. Three respondents (19%) mentioned that they valued their immediate surroundings and environment more due to increased awareness – *‘more aware of diversity of flora and fauna on doorstep’*. Two respondents (13%) mentioned that the community wood project had increased their value of community, of communities working together and of the inclination and capacity of a community.

b) Regular practices or habits

Seven respondents said that their habits or regular practices or activities had changed as a result of the community wood. Twenty two said that the wood had had no affect on habits or activities and eight did not answer (of these 5 had not visited). The inclusion of walks and increased observation were the way in which practices had changed. One respondents said that this means they now walk more and are fitter, another that they no longer have to drive to go for a walk, another that they have an earlier start to the day with a daily morning walk. One respondent mentioned that they now always take binoculars with them and study a bird book. One respondent mentioned that as a result of the community wood, he had started composting and increased the amount of recycling and was encouraging others to do the same through the community council.

Case Study: Glenkinnon Community Wood

1.0 Background

1.1 The Wood and surrounding area

The community wood which is 10.61 ha lies close to the small village of Caddonfoot, in the Tweed valley. The nearest town is Galashiels, about 3 miles away and it is approximately 35 miles from Edinburgh. The community wood extends along the South bank of the Glenkinnon Burn. It was previously spruce, felled in 2000, and is now a young plantation of mixed broadleaves, some planted and some regenerating naturally. There is a further area of as yet unfelled spruce further up the valley into which the community wood will extend. The other side of the burn is mature woodland and designated a SSSI. The surrounding area is a mixture of woodland, mostly FCS, and farmland. The farmland is mostly pasture.

Caddonfoot is comprised of approximately 45 households. Most of the houses are in the grounds of the old Peel hospital. There are about 10 older houses, previously for doctors and hospital staff, and a recent development of about 25 large houses built during 2000-2001. Other than the Peel houses, the village is scattered. There is a primary school and hall, but no other facilities. Caddonfoot is dominated by the new housing development. They are large, expensive houses and have attracted *'mainly retired (people) or commuters with young families'*. Despite being very new, there has already been a turn over of people here. *'Strange little community where we are – all new houses and we have come from all over the place – not well established. Quite a turn over already.'* *'Before it was a close-ish community – 6 – 7 houses (at Peel), everyone knew each other, and then they built 30 more'*. One interviewee suggested that the new houses were largely owned by 'professionals' where as, in the other houses, which are a mixture of rented and owner occupied, you found more 'arty crafty types'. The primary school is quite active and the village hall is used for events such as Scottish country dancing.

1.2 The development of the community wood

The community wood is part of the public estate and managed jointly by FCS, BFT and the local community. It is one of six community woodlands in the Tweed Valley Forest Park managed in this way. The general aim of the Tweed Valley Forest Park is to improve the scenic and recreational value of the woodlands in the Tweed Valley. The site had been a commercial crop of spruce, but being a steep sided valley and next to a burn, the existing management was no longer economic or environmentally prudent, so when the spruce crop was ready to fell the site was earmarked for restructuring into a woodland with more native species and recreation potential. FCS invited BFT to take on joint management to oversee the process of restoring a native woodland and facilitating community involvement. BFT held a public meeting for the community to discuss how the wood should be managed and to gauge interest. Although enthusiastic about the community wood project, the community were not interested in establishing a formal group. BFT effectively oversee the management of the wood and rely on key contacts in the community to advertise work days and events.

1.3 Objectives and activities

The management objectives for Glenkinnon Community Wood follow those set out for the 6 Tweed Valley Community Woodlands managed by the joint FCS/BFT management board. The objectives are:

- To promote the development of a native broadleaf woodland;
- To enhance biodiversity;
- To encourage public use and participation;
- To encourage economic development where potential exists.

Main activities have been:

- Trees planted
- Paths cleared
- Walkways constructed
- A number of events such as bat walks, butterfly walks and biodiversity walks.

1.4 Relationships with other organisations

The wood is effectively managed by BFT, although they work closely with FCS and all activities need to be agreed with FCS in advance. BFT liaise with the community but, because there is no community group, the interface with the community is difficult with points of contact being unofficial and communication channels to the wider community limited and not very effective.

1.5 Accessing resources

a) Financial:

BFT is supported by various grants. The Community Woodlands officers are currently funded by Heritage Lottery fund, LEADER +, Scottish Natural Heritage and Forestry Commission Scotland.

b) Physical:

BFT has provided tools and equipment for work days.

c) Human:

Some of the work is carried out by volunteer groups, such as Community Service or Scottish Wildlife Trust who use the woods for training or personal development for their groups. Some of the early work days have been well attended by community members who planted trees.

d) Constraints

The main constraint at the moment is the lack of staff time at BFT combined with the lack of a community group. At its current stage (2005), the project still requires considerable input from BFT.

1.6 The interviewees

Involved	7
Quota sample of village	12
<i>Total</i>	<i>19</i>

Interviewees described as ‘involved’ were identified by BFT. They were people who had been to work days and events and were on the contact list. The quota sample from the village was attained through approaching every 3rd house where either an interview was carried out or a questionnaire left to be completed and posted. The response rate for posted questionnaires was 75%.

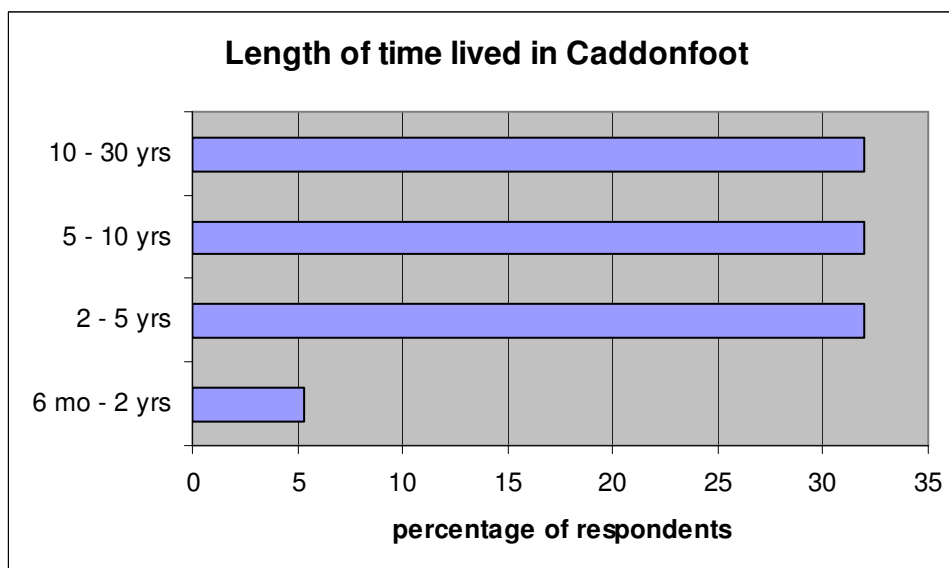
Male	32%
Female	68%

There was an imbalance in the proportion of males and female respondents with 68% being female. Many of the interviews carried out in the village were done on a Thursday and Friday and more female respondents were found at home.

Age	
1 – 20	5%
21 – 35	11%
36 – 50	42%
51 – 65	37%
66 +	1%

The above shows the distribution of ages of respondents with the largest portions falling into the 36 – 50 and 51 - 56 age groups.

The average length of time respondents had lived in Caddonfoot was 8.5 years. The below graph shows the distribution of length of time lived in the village. It shows over two thirds of respondents having lived in the village for 10 years or less.



Those identified as ‘involved’ were asked why they had become involved in the project. This was an open ended question and respondents could give one or more answers. A wide range of reasons were given:

Reason for involvement		
	n	%
Interest in wildlife	2	29
Interest in woodland	3	43
Desire for amenity	3	43
Good for children	3	43
Concern about use of land	1	14
To benefit village or community	2	29
Wish to contribute	1	14
Social	1	14
	n = 7	

The table shows that three people were motivated by an interest in creating amenity – ‘a place to walk’, ‘enjoy walking’. Equally significant was existing interests in woods – ‘general and professional interest (in woodland management)’, and the fact that the involvement would be good for children – ‘thought it would be beneficial for the children’, ‘activities for children’. Mentioned by two people was an interest in wildlife and to benefit the community – ‘good for community to take part in what’s going on’.

2.0 Interest in and use of the wood

2.1 Awareness of and interest in the wood

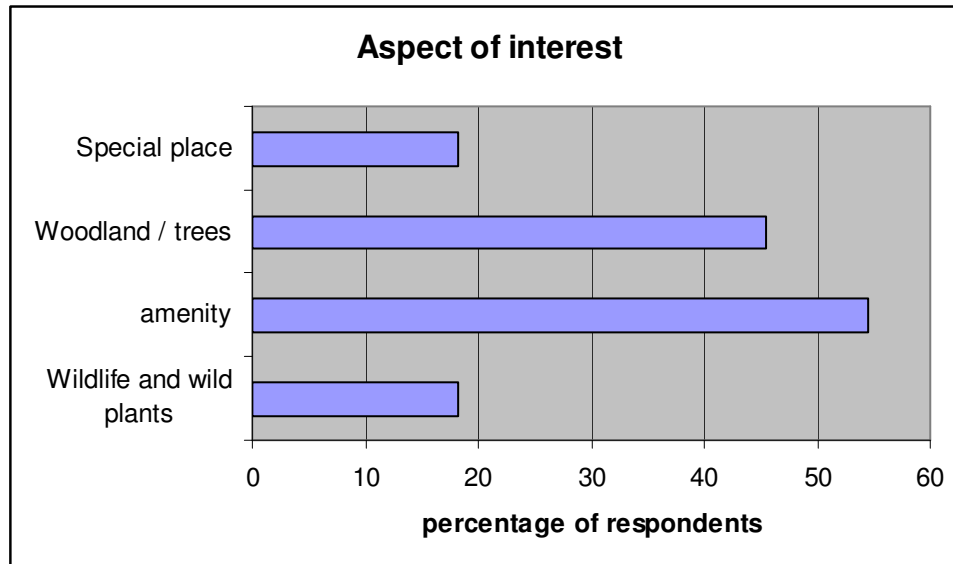
Respondents (other than those who were known to be involved) were asked about whether they were aware of the wood, aware of community involvement and were interested in the initiative.

Aware of wood				Aware of community involvement				interest					
Yes		No		Yes		No		yes		A little		no	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
12	100	0	0	6	50	6	50	9	75	3	25	0	0

The table shows that in Caddonfoot all interviewees were aware of the wood but only half realised that there was an element of community involvement. Seventy five percent of the community were interested in the initiative and 25% were a little interested.

Respondents were asked in what aspect of the wood they were interested. This was an open question. One respondent did not answer. Responses were grouped into the categories shown in the table and graph below.

Aspect of interest	n
Wildlife and wild plants	2
amenity	6
Woodland / trees	5
Special place	2

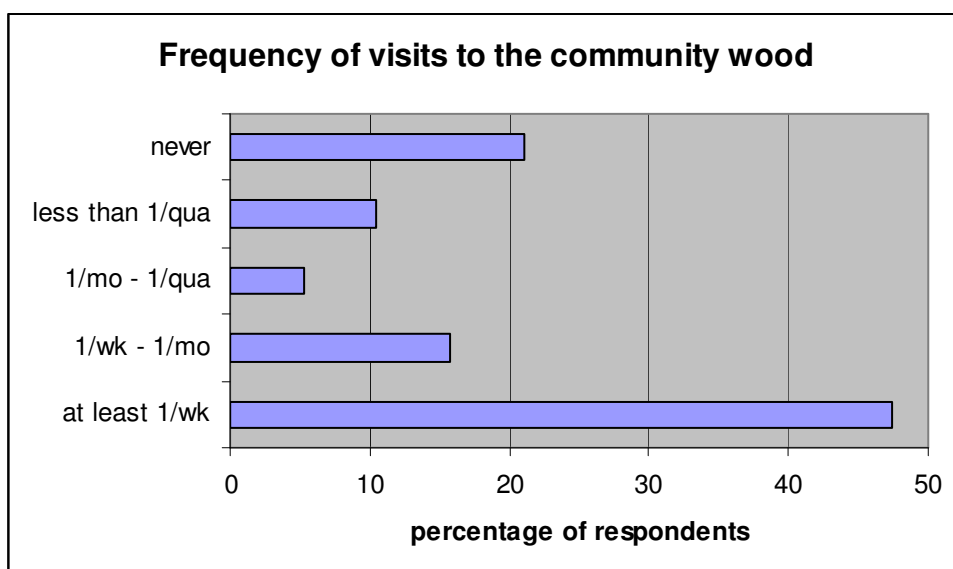


The most popular area of interest was amenity – a place for a walk, mentioned by 54% of respondents answering this question, followed by woodland or trees mentioned by 45% - *‘enjoy seeing the trees growing’*, *‘growth of new trees’*, *‘native woodlands’*. A special place and an interest in wildlife were each mentioned by 18% of respondents.

2.2 Use of the woods

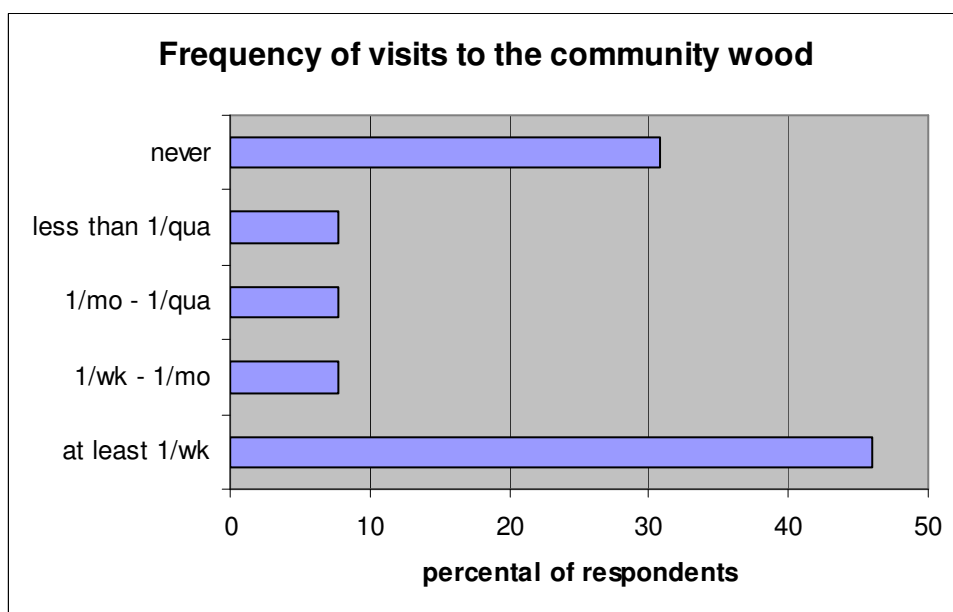
There was no access to this area of woodland before it was a community wood although there is a forestry track through the adjoining spruce forest. A path, steep in places, has been put in with walkways where needed. The path presently comes to a dead end, but there are plans to extend it into a circular walk when the next swath of spruce is felled and restoration and access can be extended further up the valley.

Respondents were asked how often they visited the wood.



Overall, eleven respondents, nearly 50%, visit the wood once a week or more and 15% visit it less than once a week but at least once per month. Twenty one percent had never visited the wood.

Looking at the wider community, omitting responses from targeted ‘involved’ respondents, gives the below distribution.



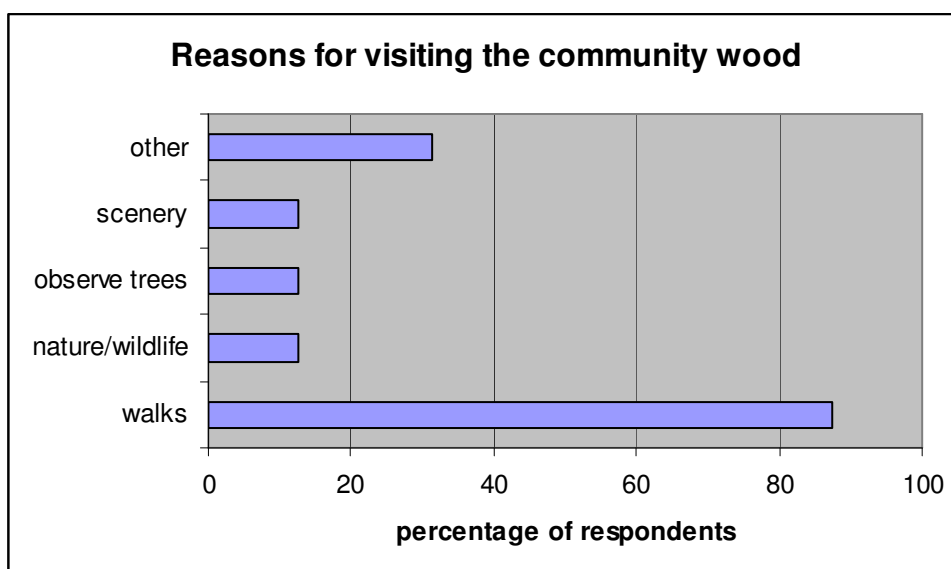
Forty seven percent of the wider community visit the wood at least weekly and 31% have never visited it.

The wood has been used by the primary school for ‘mini-beast hunts’ and other curriculum-based outdoor activities. BFT have organised a variety of well attended summer holiday children’s/ family events, e.g. The Big Bug Hunt and Art in the Woods where attendance has ranged from 12 to 28 participants. Other groups who

have regularly visited the woods are Galashiels Wildlife Watch Club and Heriot Out of School Club.

2.3 Reasons for visiting

The chart below shows the reasons people visit the wood. This was an open ended question and was answered by all respondents who visited the wood, each giving between one and three reasons. Responses were grouped into the categories shown below.



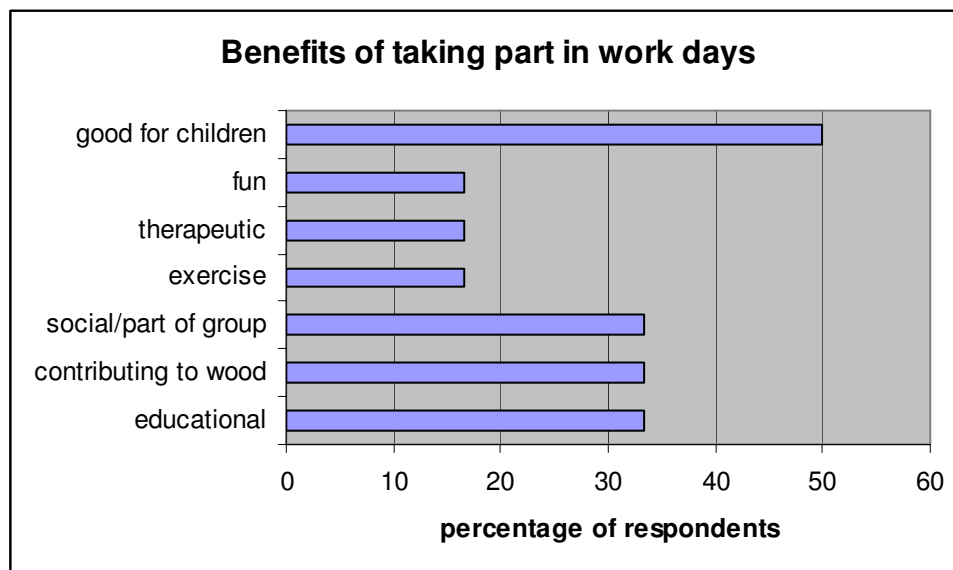
The main reason, given by about 85% of the respondents, was to go for a walk. Other reasons were to look at wildlife, to enjoy the scenery and observe the young trees, in part planted by the local community.

2.4 Work days and events

a) Work days

There have been a number of work days. They are organised by BFT and advertised to key contacts, usually by email. Key contacts then advertise them to the wider community through notices and word of mouth. This is not always very effective. Attendance at the first few work days in late 2002/ 2003 was good, with about 25 local people attending the first tree planting day, but it has dropped off. At several work days, there have been no members of the community as they have involved a variety of other local groups, e.g. APEX group – a Galashiels based 'Prep for Work' Youth Organisation and the Borders Princes Trust group (as part of the Community aspect of their 12 week programme). All of the initial path work and heavy construction work was done by the local Community Service Team..

Respondents were asked if they took part in work days. Four respondents (22%) usually take part in work days and 2 respondents (11%) sometimes take part. Twelve respondents (67%) had never taken part in a work day. Respondents were also asked in what ways they benefited from taking part in work days. Responses were grouped into categories shown in the graph below.



The benefit to children was cited by 3 respondents, (50% of respondents who take part in work days) - *'It's nice to get children involved', 'something (planted trees) that they can come back and see ..'* Educational value, the good feeling of contributing towards the wood and the enjoyment of being part of a group were each mentioned by 33% of respondents. *'I enjoy planting trees with other people – they tend to be like minded and pleasant to get to know'; 'learn about tree species and why we are planting them'*. Also mentioned was the enjoyment and fun had during work parties, their therapeutic effect and the benefit of getting exercise – *'pleasure of physical activity and the thought that it will grow into something attractive'*.

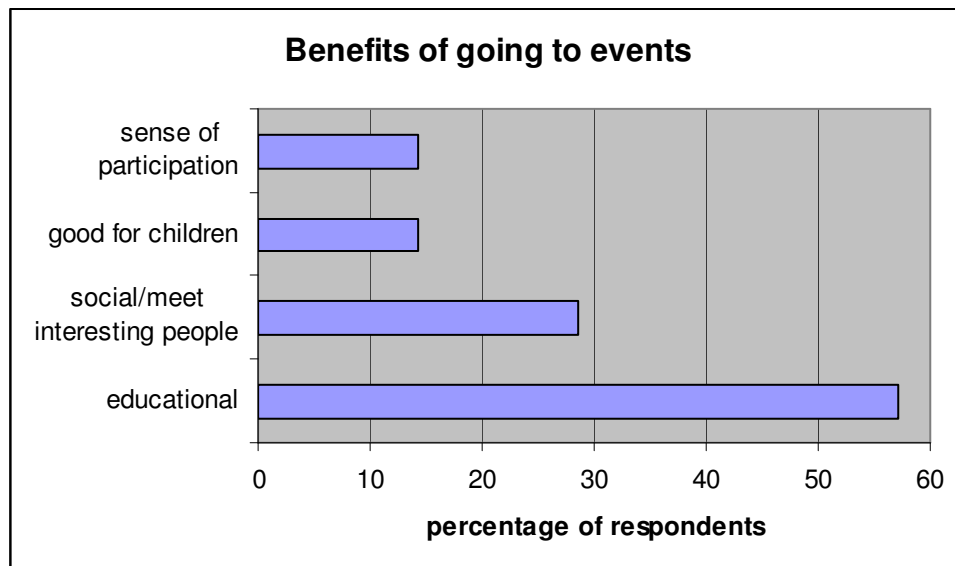
b) Events

Events at Glenkinnon community wood are organised by BFT. They are advertised through BFT website and a list of people who have been to previous work parties or events are also notified. Attendance has varied over time, but has tended to be low.

date	event	Number attending
July 2004	Bat walk	12
May 2005	Biodiversity walk	5
August 2005	Bat & Creatures of the Night	19

This study found that 2 respondents (13%) usually attended events, 5 respondents (30%) sometimes went to events and 9 (47%) had not been. Of these, five respondents mentioned that they hadn't known about events.

Those respondents who attended were asked in what way they benefited.

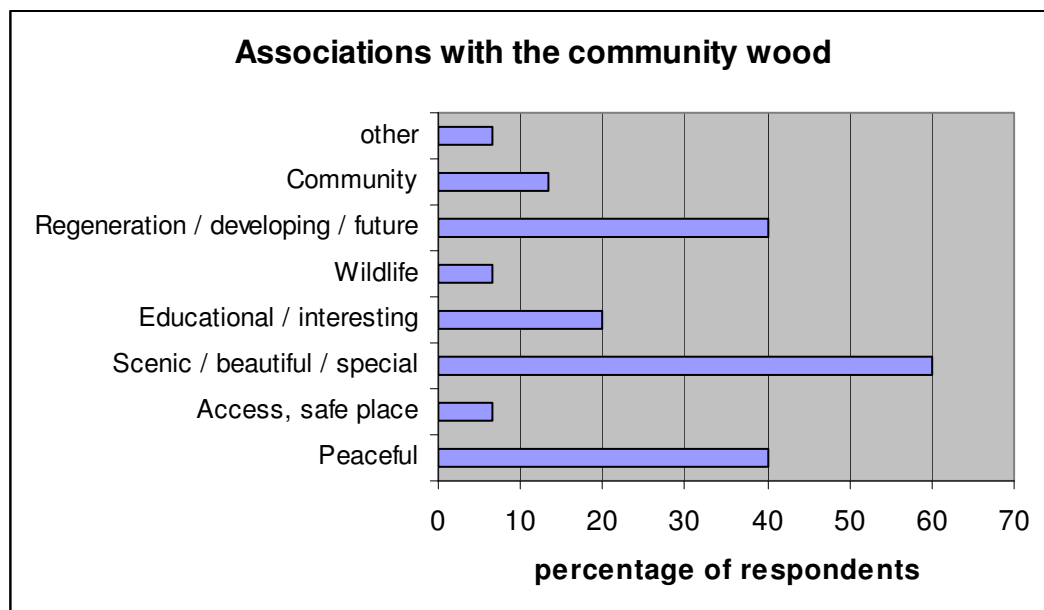


Fifty seven percent of respondents (4) felt that they benefited from the educational value of the events. The social element and the chance to meet interesting people was also mentioned. On the other hand, one respondent said '*they are not really social, so few people*'. Being good for children and taking part in community events were also mentioned.

2.5 Associations with the wood

Respondents were asked for three words or phrases they associated with the wood. This was an open ended question and four respondents did not answer. Responses were grouped into the below categories.

Word or phrase	n
Peaceful	6
Access, safe place	1
Scenic / beautiful / special	9
Educational / interesting	3
Wildlife	1
Regeneration / developing / future	6
Community	2
other	1



Scenic/beautiful/special was the most cited association, mentioned by 60% of respondents answering this question – *‘special spot’*, *‘beautiful’*, *‘lovely views’*. Peaceful was mentioned by 40% of respondents – *‘peace and serenity’*, *‘quiet’*, *‘peaceful’*. Regeneration/future was also mentioned by 40% – *‘regeneration’*, *‘new and raw’*, *‘developing’*. Educational/interesting was mentioned by 20% – *‘interesting’*, *‘increasing public awareness’*. Community or the lack of community was mentioned by 12% – *‘public involvement ??’*, *‘community spirit lacking’*, *‘community’*. Lastly, wildlife and access were mentioned by 7% each – *‘plants I hadn’t seen before’*, *‘access’*, *‘difficult to walk through’*.

3.0 Social benefits

3.1 Social Capital building

3.1.1 Making friends

Seven, (37%) said they had made friends or acquaintances. Distinguishing between close and less close relationships: none of the 7 said they had made close friends, 2 said they had made friends and 7 said they had made acquaintances.

The proportion making friends was much higher amongst those who were ‘involved’ with 100% of them making friends or acquaintances through the community wood.

3.1.2 Making and using contacts

Seven respondents, 37%, said that they had made contacts and, of those, 4 said that they had used the contacts. Several people found the experts at events were useful contacts and used them for information to pursue different interests. One respondent has used the contact with BFT in the management of his own wood.

Again, the proportion was higher amongst those who were ‘involved’ where 6 (86%) had made contacts and, of those, 3 had used them.

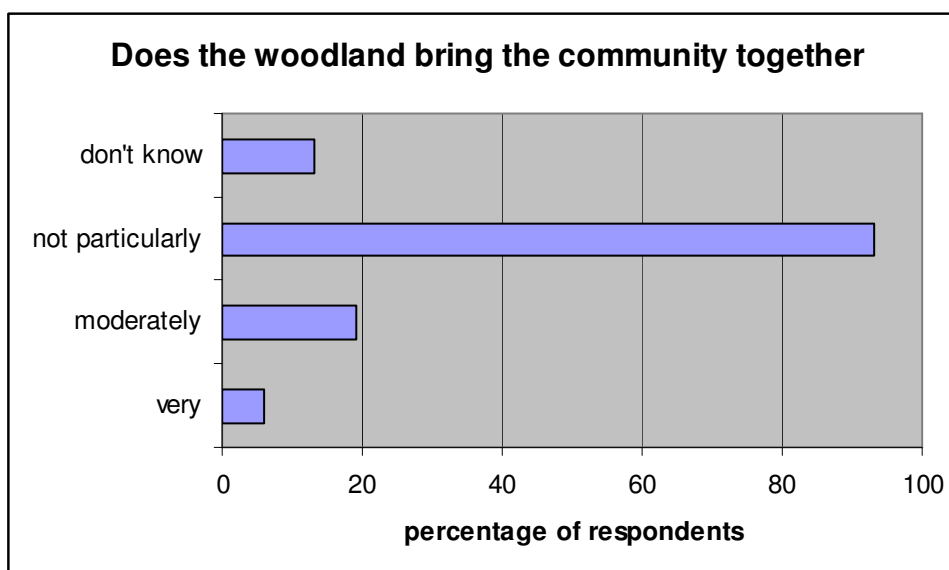
3.1.3 Leading onto other initiatives

Respondents were asked if they had become involved in any organisations, projects or initiatives as a result of the Community Woodland or if, on the other hand, they had become less inclined to be involved in other things.

One respondent (6%) said that, as a result of the community woodland project and contact with BFT, they had become involved in other initiatives.

3.1.4 Bringing people together

Respondents were asked whether they thought, compared to other initiatives or clubs in the village, the community wood was good at bringing people together.



Only one respondent considered the wood to be good at bringing people from the area together. Three respondents, or 19%, thought it to be moderately good and most respondents, 63%, thought that it wasn't particularly good. Several people remarked how the events are poorly attended, partly due to poor publicity. Two respondents felt that it had potential, but one respondent said that people value the wood as a place to visit alone. One respondent mentioned that most people chose to live there because of the pleasant surrounding countryside and, as such, the wood plays a part in drawing likeminded people to the community.

3.1.5 Levels of trust

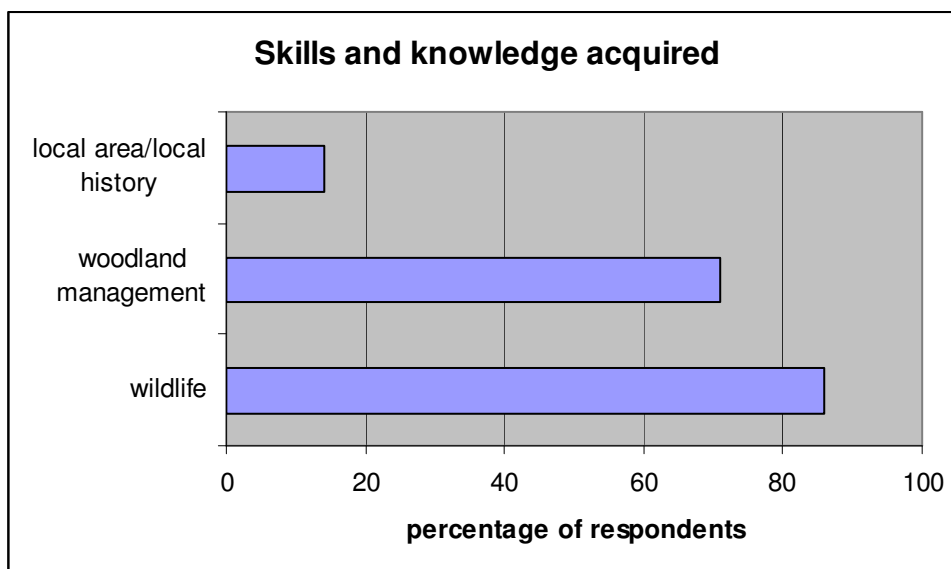
Respondents were asked whether they felt that their levels of trust had changed, either in the number of people they trusted or the extent to which they trusted organisations, since the woodland initiative was developed.

Only one respondent (6%) felt that there were more people in whom they had trust and two, 12%, felt that they now had more trust in organisations. Increases in levels of trust were only experienced by those most closely involved in the wood. Additional comments indicate that the increase in trust in organisations was a result of the respondents being impressed by BFT.

3.2 Skills and knowledge

Respondents were asked if they had acquired any new knowledge or skills as a result of being involved in or visiting the wood. They were also asked what they had used the acquired knowledge and skills for. * This question wasn't answered very well and results may under-represent the levels of knowledge or skill acquired.

Seven respondents, 43%, said that they had learnt things as a result of the community wood. This proportion was much higher amongst those who had had involvement in the wood, where 86% said that they had acquired knowledge and/or skills.



Eight four percent of those who had acquired knowledge/skills (6 respondents) had learnt about wildlife/plants, 70% about woodland management and 12% about the local area. Knowledge had been acquired by taking part (84%) and going to events (84%). Respondents had used the information for personal interest. Two respondents mentioned passing information on to others. Two respondents mentioned using the information in observation of their surroundings. One respondent mentioned developing and pursuing an interest and purchasing relevant books.

3.3 Identity and sense of belonging

3.3.1 Woodland products and pictures.

Respondents were asked whether they had any products from the wood or pictures of the wood at home as an indication of the connection they felt to the wood. Products were subsequently divided into three categories – ornamental, items of interest and useful objects (or materials to make useful objects).

Six respondents (32%) had products from the wood at home. Three respondents had ornamental products – sticks, stone and cones; one respondent had things of interest for a school project and three respondents had useful products – bean sticks, walking stick and fir cones for the garden. One respondent mentioned that she was unsure if it was encouraged to pick things up and take them from the wood as decaying matter

is good for biodiversity. Three respondents (18%) had pictures of the wood or activities in the wood on display at home. One respondent was an artist who draws inspiration from views from the wood for her work.

3.3.2 Talking about the Community wood

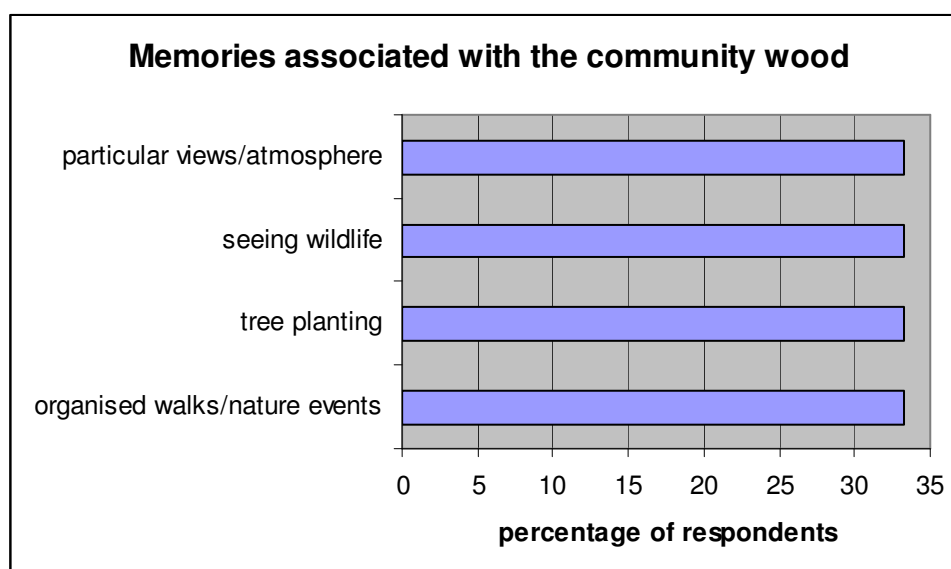
As an indication of how prominent the community wood was in peoples lives, respondents were asked if they talked about it at home.

No respondents reported that the community woodland was talked about often in their household. Sixteen percent reported that it was talked about sometimes and 67% that it was talked about occasionally.

3.3.3 Memories

Respondents were asked if they had any particular memories of times spent in the wood.

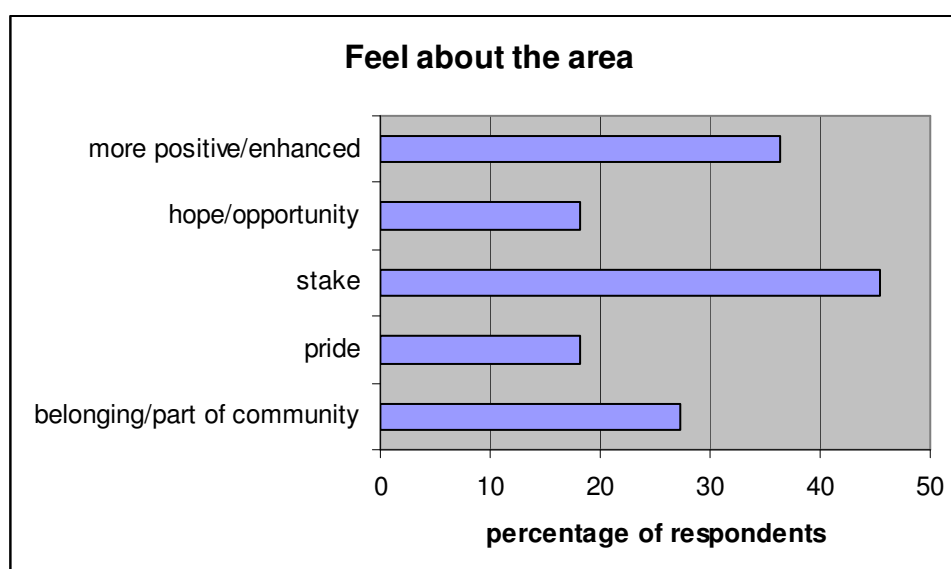
Nine respondents (64% of those who use the wood) said that they had particular memories associated with the wood. Particular memories were evenly distributed between organised nature related walks/events, seeing wildlife, tree planting and particular views or atmospheres.



3.3.4 Feel about the area

Eleven respondents, 65%, said that the community wood had changed the way that they feel about the area they live in.

Respondents were invited to expand their answer and responses were categorised as shown in the chart below.



Forty five percent suggested that it had given them a stake in their surroundings – *‘feel I have a stake in the area’, ‘potential to have a stake/say’, ‘it has local input’, ‘we planted some of the trees, so more personal’*. Thirty six percent felt that the community wood had enhanced the area and made them feel more positive about it – *‘community woodland is the cream on top of the cake’, ‘enhances living in the area’*. Twenty eight percent of respondents felt that it had increased their sense of belonging – *‘increased sense of belonging a little bit’, ‘increased connection’*. Two respondents, 18%, felt proud of the wood. One respondent hoped it would bring the community together – *‘overwhelming feeling of loss of community spirit due to changing nature of the Borders and people who live there. It would be nice if the community wood would bring people together again’*. One respondent referred to the lack of participation to demonstrate the attitude of local residents – *‘lack of involvement has clarified how few of the local residents care about the area and its use’*.

3.4 Culture

To gauge whether the community woodland was having any impact on culture, respondents were asked if their values or regular practices had changed at all as a result of the woodland initiative.

	Changed values and attitudes			Changed habits or regular activities		
	n	%	Valid %	n	%	Valid %
Yes	3	16	19	2	11	12
No	13	68	82	15	79	100
Not answered	3	16		2	11	
total	37	100	100	37	100	100

Three respondents, 19%, said that their values and attitudes had been affected, generally marginally, and 12% that their regular activities and practices had been affected.

One respondent mentioned how their attitude towards community woodlands had changed and how they valued them as an initiative which can promote and instil *'health, sanity and knowledge of the real world'*. Another mentioned that the experience of visiting the wood in the different seasons *'reinforces positive values around the need to protect the environment and habitats'*. One respondent mentioned an increased awareness of *'what you can use things from the wood for'*. In terms of changed practices, one respondent said he now used more local and natural materials.

Case Study: Wooplaw Community Woodlands

1.0 Background

1.1 The wood and surrounding area

The community wood lies 2 miles north of the small village of Langshaw. The nearest towns are Stow, 5 miles away, Lauder, 6 miles away and Galashiels, 7 miles. It is approximately 35 miles from Edinburgh. The community wood extends to 20ha and the site has been wooded since the 16th century. The main area of woodland lies either side of the Stow road. A further section, reached by a path lies to the east of the Langshaw – Lauder road. When purchased the community wood site was a mixture of hardwoods, areas of commercial spruce and unplanted grassland. Since then, some of the spruce has been harvested and replaced by mixed broadleaves and the grassland areas have all been planted with mixed broadleaves and an area of willow.

The surrounding land is generally hill farmland with a scattering of small woodlands. There is no neighbouring community to the wood and people involved are mainly drawn from Stow and Lauder. The population in this area of the Borders was said to be changing with many of the people now moving in to the area commuting to Edinburgh. Although they may be interested in recreation, it was felt that they generally have less time and inclination to be involved in their surrounding environment.

1.2 The development of the community wood

Wooplaw was the first community wood of its kind in Britain and was initiated by Tim Stead, a wood sculptor and furniture maker who lived nearby in the village of Blainslie. He used native British timber for his work and wanted to find a way of restoring this resource. In 1986 he made 365 handmade hardwood axe heads – one for each day of the year, to sell in order to raise money to buy a piece of land on which trees could be planted. The publicity for this scheme drew the attention of Donald McPhillimy and Alan Drever who were already involved in the native and community woods movements in Scotland. Together they formed the Borders Community Woodlands (BCW) in 1987 to take the project forward and a public meeting was held in Melrose. Wooplaw, a local 23 ha wood, came on the market and within 3 months BCW had succeeded in securing sufficient grants, from WWF and the Countryside Commission, and donations to top up the ‘axe head money’ to enable them to purchase the site.

When the Borders Forest Trust was established in 1996, the wider role of ‘promoting local community projects throughout the Borders’ passed from Borders Community Woodlands to BFT and, in 2000, to avoid confusion, BCW adopted its present day name of Wooplaw Community Woodlands.

Wooplaw Community Woodlands is a company limited by guarantee with charitable status. It has a board of directors and, in the past, had a formal committee to oversee the management of the wood. It now favours a less formal approach and management is carried out by a core group that involves the directors and woodland

wardens. Woodland wardens are people who visit Wooplaw on a regular basis and wish to be involved. The size of this core group has varied over time between 4 and 20. There are currently 8 – 10 wardens. There are about 60 members of Wooplaw Community Woodlands mainly from near by towns and villages, but also from further a field. Membership levels have remained roughly constant

1.3 Objectives and activities

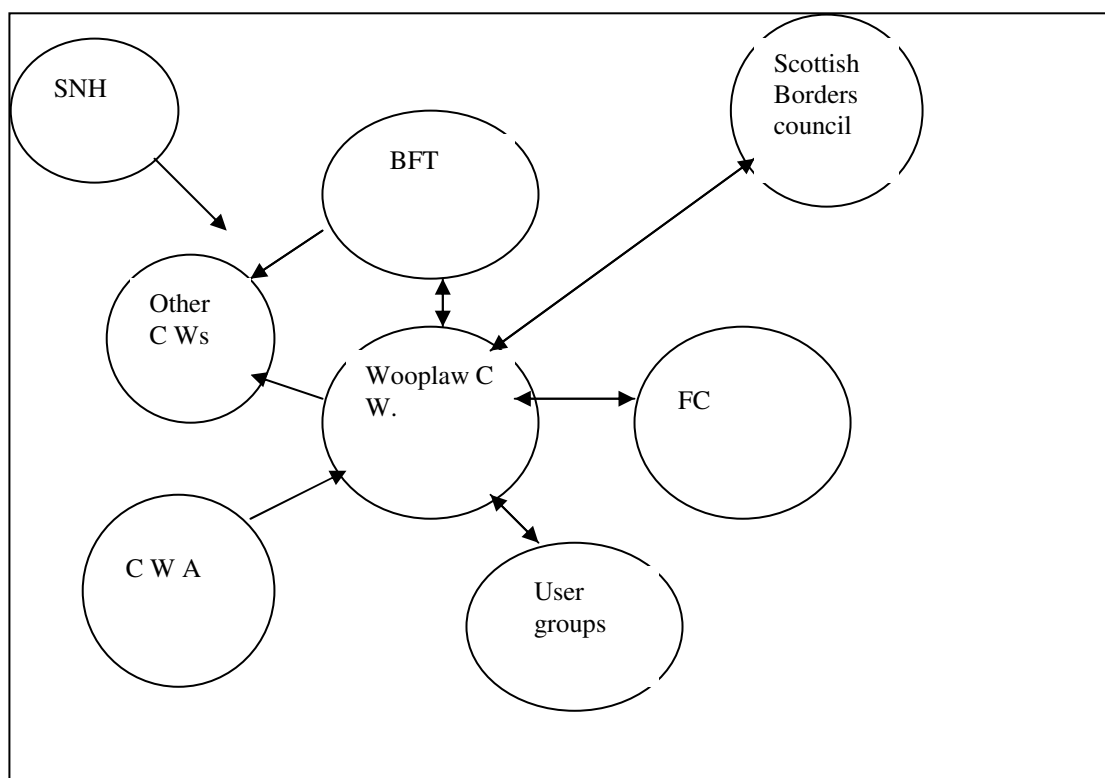
The aims for Wooplaw Community Woodlands are:

- To make the woods and land available for recreation, education, training and the sustainable production of forest products for the benefit of the local community.
- To hold regular events and to promote a woodland culture.
- To carry out a sustainable programme of harvesting and planting of appropriate woodland trees and plants which enhances biodiversity.
- To use local contractors wherever possible and to spend income locally.

Main activities have been:

- Management plans
- Planting Gullet and Axehead Woods.
- Log cabin constructed
- Tree nursery and holding area constructed
- Regular woodland craft days
- Annual Halloween parties since 1994
- Various woodland demonstration and training events – horse logging, charcoal making, green woodworking
- Various arts projects and events
- 1998: woodland access initiative: 800 m of all ability trails, interpretive maps, outdoor classroom, educational resource box, composing toilet and green woodworking area.
- 1999: 1000 willows planted in Gullet wood as a source of material for local courses.
- Six monthly newsletters
- Website constructed

1.4 Relationships with other organisations



Like all community woodlands in the Borders, Wooplaw Community Woodlands has a close relationship with BFT. This relationship is somewhat different from that experienced by other community woodlands in the Borders in that BFT had no role in assisting in the establishment of Wooplaw and, to the contrary, BFT grew out of the 'Borders Community Woodlands' – now Wooplaw Community Woodlands. The relationship between Wooplaw and BFT was described as involving information and support and being two-way. Wooplaw has a similar, but less close, relationship with the Community Woodland Association. Although becoming 'more two way' it was felt that previously more information and support had flowed from Wooplaw to the CWA. FCS provide funding and advice and Wooplaw provide FCS with an example of a relatively longstanding community woodland and act, as such, as a resource to FCS. Various user groups use the wood and contribute to Wooplaw in terms of work done (especially SWT), survey information and membership fees. Wooplaw also works with the Council, using their access officer and providing input to the development of the Borders Woodland Strategy. Scottish Natural Heritage have provided money and advice and been very helpful. Wooplaw Community Woodlands have links with other community woods, both through the BFT and the CWA and independently. Wooplaw is seen as an example of what can be achieved and is well known for its origins and its status as the first community wood in Scotland. Other community woodland groups, or groups interested in establishing community woodlands, visit Wooplaw.

1.5 Accessing resources

a) Financial:

Wooplaw Community Woodlands are supported by various grants, membership subscriptions and income from sales.

- Membership, at £5 per year: about £200 per year
- Sales of small coppice material, fire wood and events: between £100 - £300 per year
- Grants:
 - 1989: FC planting grant plus community woodland supplement
 - 1996: £10,000 from Charities Lottery Foundation plus small grant from SNH for access and pond
 - 1999: Grant from Mazda and Future Forests for planting
 - 1999: Rural Challenge grant for access trail
 - 2000: Community Arts Award from Council for Totem poles.

b) Physical:

Wooplaw Community Woodlands own quite a lot of equipment. When needed, additional items can be borrowed from BFT or hired.

c) Human:

There are regular work days plus the use of volunteer groups such as Scottish Wildlife Trust (who have a 'habitat management team'), Lothian Conservation Volunteers and Tyneside Volunteers.

1.6 The interviewees

Wardens 7

The majority of the core group were interviewed or filled in a questionnaire. This included those holding official posts (chairman, secretary, treasurer). All wardens were approached and three people did not respond.

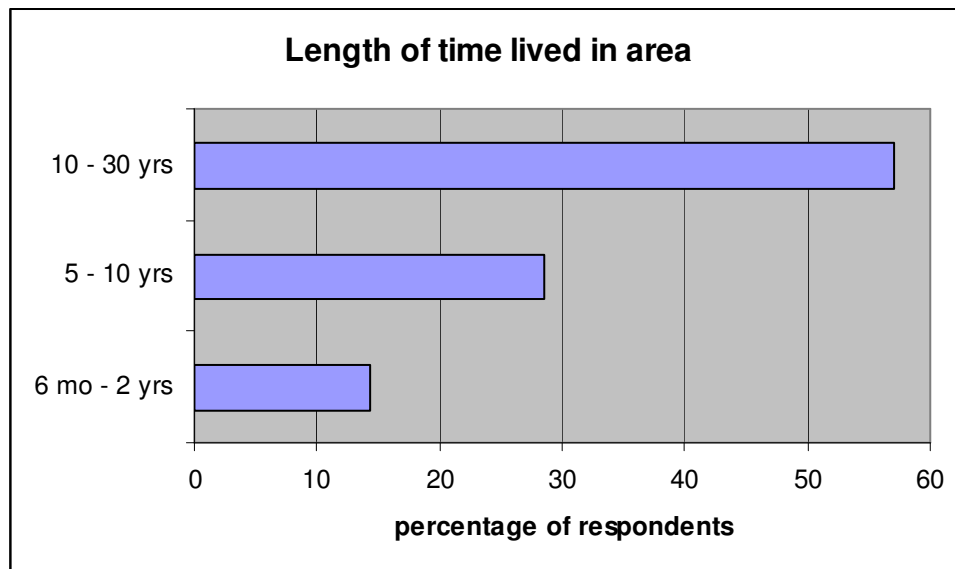
Male	43%
Female	57%

The proportion of males and females was roughly balanced.

Age	
36 – 50	43%
51 – 65	43%
66 +	14%

The above shows the distribution of ages of respondents with nearly all respondents falling into the 36 – 50 and 51 - 65 age groups.

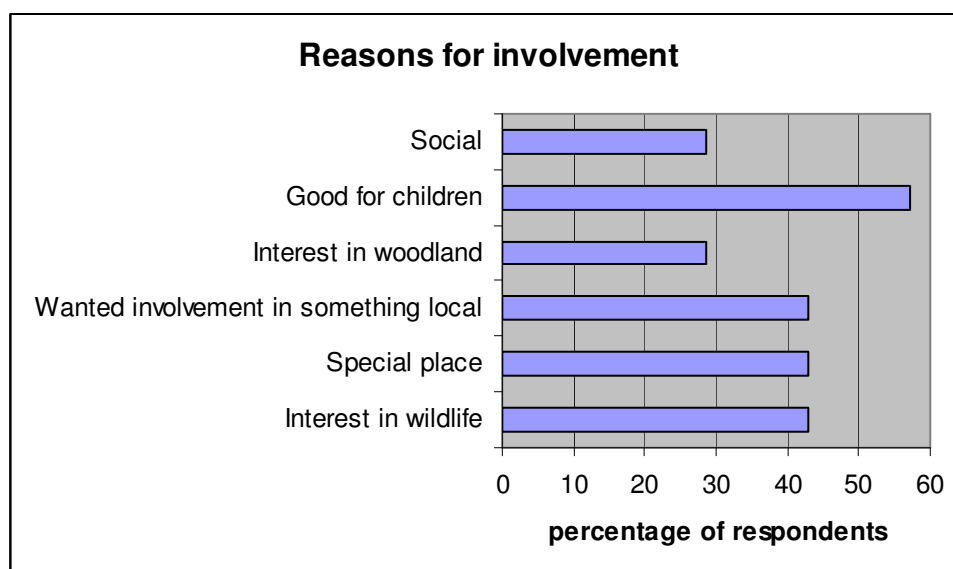
The average length of time respondents had lived in the area was 13.1 years. The below graph shows the distribution of length of time lived in the area. It shows that most respondents lived in the area for between 10 and 30 yrs.



Wardens were asked why they had become involved in the community wood. It was an open ended question and most respondents gave between 1 and 3 answers. These were categorised as shown below.

Reason for involvement	n	%
Interest in wildlife	3	43
Interest in woodland	2	29
Good for children	4	57
Special place	3	43
Social	2	29
Wanted involvement in something (local)	3	43
	n = 7	

The table shows that four people, 57 % of the wardens, were motivated through their children – *‘children were at an age when they enjoyed it’, ‘nice to get the children involved’*. Three people were interested in wildlife – *‘when I moved here I was already a wildlife watch leader and wanted to get involved in a group so I asked if I could set up a group at Wooplaw’, ‘interested in conservation’*. Equally significant was the impact the place had on people – *‘lovely place, inspired by an open day’*. Wanting to get involved in something local was also mentioned by three respondents – *‘had only been here a couple of years – something nice to get involved in’, ‘wanted to get involved in something local’*. Two people mentioned an interest in woodland – *‘love woods/trees’* and, also mentioned twice was the social aspect of involvement – *‘visited a few times and nice people’*.



2.0 Use of the woods

2.1 Use of the woods

Prior to being a community wood, Wooplaw was privately owned and, although access was not prohibited, it was not encouraged and there were fewer paths.

‘Wooplaw Woods are owned and managed for the benefit of the community in general’ (www.wooplaw.org.uk). As already described, there is not an obvious associated ‘community of location’ and the ‘community in general’ is taken to mean people from near by towns and villages and additionally those from further a field with a particular interest.

A ‘one month diary’ carried out in Sept 04 showed that the wood was widely used:

- Over 80 adults and 60 children from Stow, Galashiels, Lauder, Earston and Melrose. Many people were walking dogs or had come for a family picnic.
- Groups from Dumfriesshire, East Lothian and Edinburgh: Edinburgh fungi group, Edinburgh student group, prospective community woodland group from East Lothian, Lauder cubs learning to make maps, Earston out of school learning club, club from Dumfriesshire for music event.

The community woodland secretary suggested additional groups using the wood: Oxtou and Lauder primary schools, Newton and Lauder after school clubs, Earston High School, The Princes Trust and the local WATCH group.

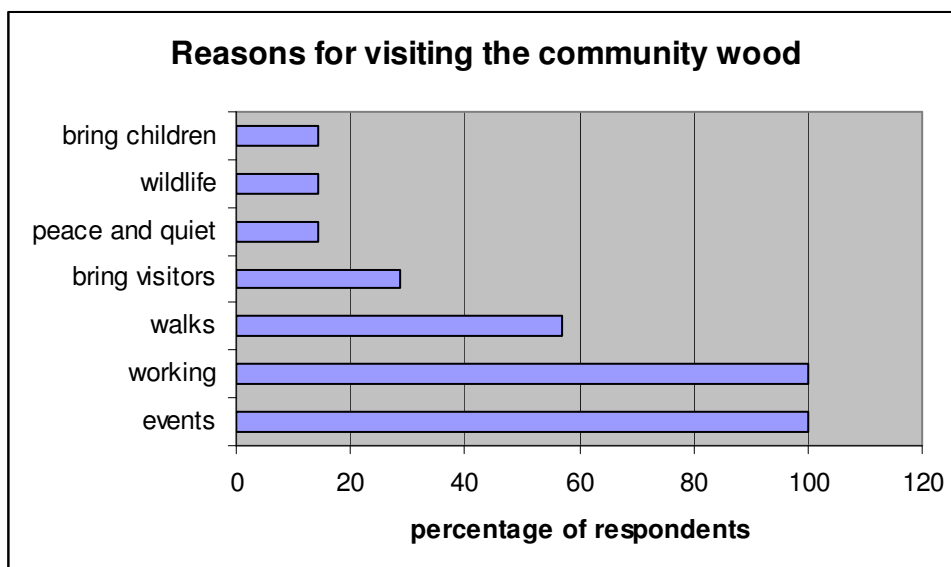
Respondents were asked how often they visited the wood.

	n	%
At least 1/wk	1	14
1/wk – 1/month	6	86
	7	100

One of the wardens visited at least weekly and the remainder at least monthly.

2.2 Reasons for visiting

The chart below shows the reasons why the respondents visit the wood. This was an open ended question and respondents gave between one and three reasons. Responses were grouped into the categories shown below.



As we can see, the main reasons, given by all respondents, were to attend the work days and events. Over half of the respondents also visited to go for walks and about 30% to bring visitors. Other reasons were for peace and quiet, to see wildlife and to bring children.

2.3 Work days and events

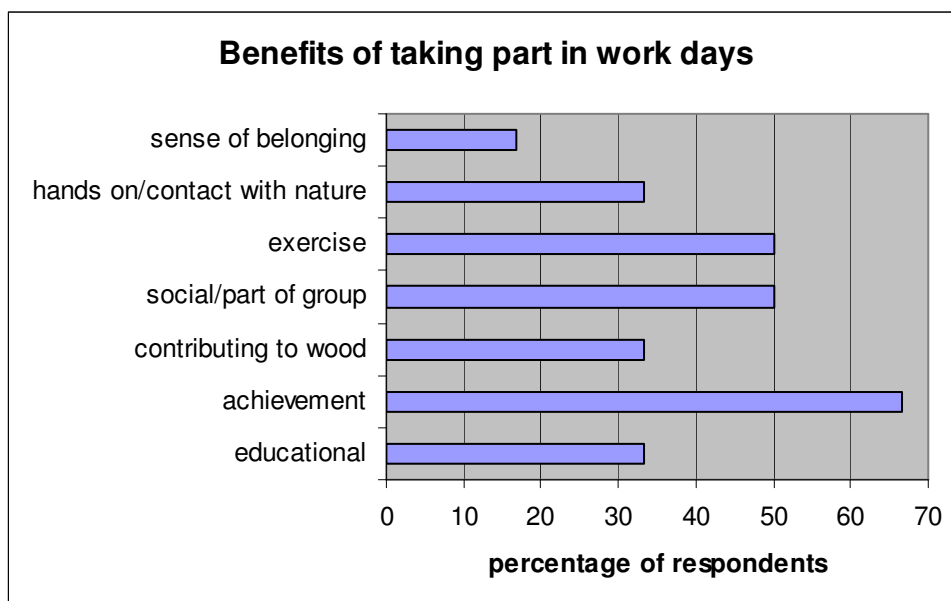
There are regular work days and events at Wooplaw, held at the end of each month. The numbers of events and work days has varied over the years, dropping off for a while when there was less capacity in the core group to organise them. They are organised by the wardens and advertised through the Wooplaw Community Woodlands newsletter and website.

'The last Sunday of each month is set aside for workdays and events at Wooplaw. Workdays will either be specific maintenance tasks like tree planting, path maintenance and bridge building, or, general ongoing things like birch and sitka clearance or checking young trees. Several times a year there are events for the general public, these are always meant to be fun and to help to cultivate a woodland culture. More willing hands are always needed whatever is happening. Events need organising, publicity, setting up, manning and of course clearing up.'
(www/wooplaw.org.uk).

a) Work days

There are usually 10 work days per year at Wooplaw. Activities vary according to what is needed. Estimated average number of attendees at work days is 6.

Respondents were asked if they took part in work days. Nearly all the respondents (71%) usually took part in work parties. One respondent sometimes took part and one never took part – this respondent runs the art workshops for children which happen at the same time as work parties.

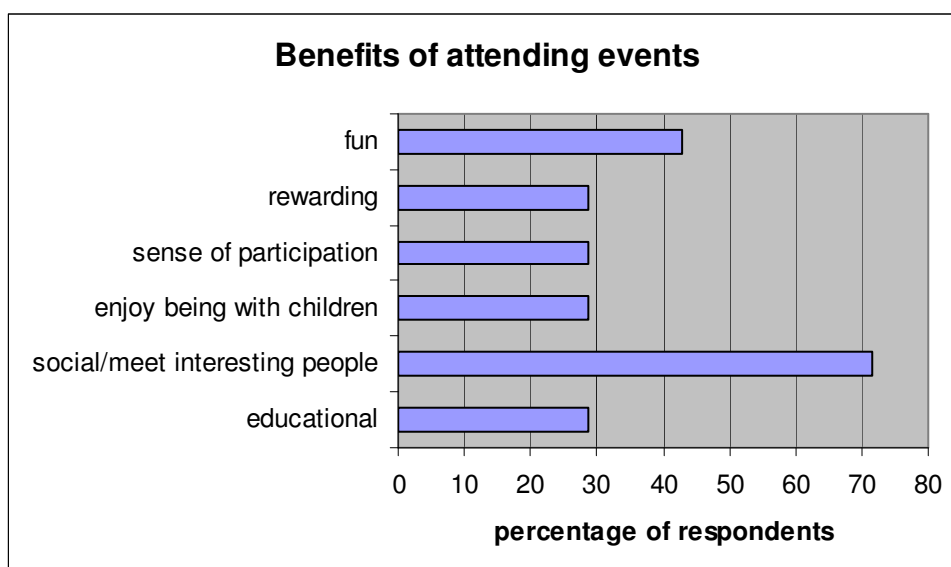


The most cited benefit by respondents was the satisfaction – ‘*sense of achievement and satisfaction*’. The benefit of exercise and fun of being part of a group were each mentioned by three respondents – ‘*keep fit*’, ‘*physical*’, ‘*feeling of team*’. Additionally, two respondents mentioned the educational value – ‘*learning*’, ‘*knowledge*’, and the value of hands on work to them – ‘*close to nature, hands dirty*’, and contributing to the wood – ‘*help to keep the wood going*’. One respondent mentioned the sense of belonging they derived – ‘*connects you to the wood ... sense of belonging*’. One respondent also said that, at times, the work parties feel a burden and a bit overwhelming because there are so few people.

b) Events

There are 10 craft and 6 other events per year. Attendance at events varies. The Halloween and Christmas events attract high numbers, but other events sometimes only attract a few people.

All of those interviewed (7) usually go to events. The chart below describes how they feel they benefit.

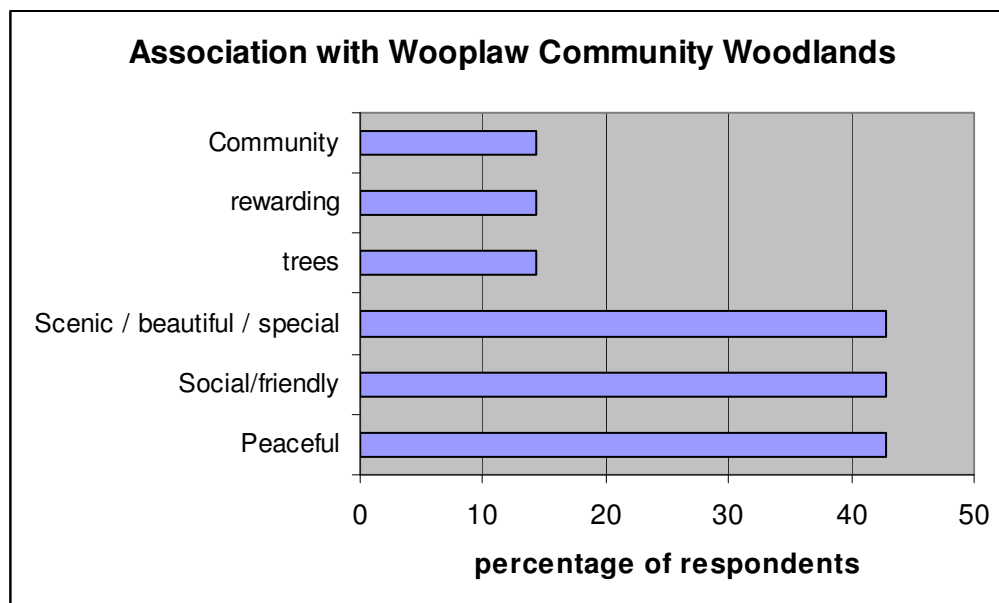


Over 70% of the respondents enjoy the social aspect of events – ‘*meeting other people*’, ‘*socialising*’. Over 40% mentioned them as being fun and enjoyable. Twenty nine percent of respondents also found them to be educational – ‘*educational*’, ‘*knowledge*’; enjoyed doing things with children – ‘*enjoy working with children*’; rewarding – ‘*feeling of satisfaction in having contributed to something others have enjoyed*’; and benefiting from the sense of participation . Additionally, one respondent mentioned that, as wardens, they feel they have to turn up when they can and it can feel burdensome.

2.5 Associations with the wood

Respondents were asked for three words or phrases they associated with the wood. This was an open ended question. Responses were grouped into the below categories.

Word or phrase	n
Peaceful	3
Social/friendly	3
Scenic / beautiful / special	3
trees	1
rewarding	1
Regeneration / developing / future	1
Community	1



Scenic/beautiful/special was one of the most cited associations, mentioned by 43% of respondents – ‘*unique*’, ‘*magical*’, ‘*special*’. Peaceful was also mentioned by 43% of respondents – ‘*peaceful*’, ‘*relaxing*’, as was social/friendly – ‘*friends*’, ‘*social*’. Other associations, each mentioned by 14% of respondents, were community, rewarding and trees.

3.0 Social benefits

3.1 Social Capital building

3.1.1 Making friends

Seven, 100%, said they had made friends or acquaintances. Of those, 6 had made close friends.

3.1.2 Making and using contacts

Five, 74%, had made contacts and, of those, 4 had used them. Most useful contacts were with people involved in areas of arts or the environment. Contacts had been used to pursue interests, but also business ventures – one respondent had used contacts in the arts field to help set up a gallery in Lauder, another had used contacts to help develop skills and is now selling his own wooden products.

3.1.3 Leading onto other initiatives

Respondents were asked if they had become involved in any organisations, projects or initiatives as a result of the Community Woodland, or if, on the other hand, they had become less inclined to be involved in other things.

One respondent (14%) said that, as a result of the community woodland project, they had become involved in other initiatives. Two respondents said that they would be less inclined to be involved in other things due to the time they already commit to the community woodland.

Although only one interviewee felt that they had become involved in further initiatives as a result of the wood, other initiatives have undoubtedly evolved from Wooplaw Community Woodlands. BFT evolved from Wooplaw and, through BFT, most other community woodlands in the Borders as well as other conservation projects and projects promoting the use of native broadleaves overseen by BFT.

3.1.4 Bringing people together

Two thirds of respondents thought Wooplaw was moderately good at bringing people together. One respondent suggested that because it was not adjacent to a settlement, it didn't bring people together. Another respondent said that it brings disparate people together and thought that because it brings people from slightly further a field, they are closer and have a stronger commitment. Two respondents mentioned that the extent that it has drawn people in has varied over time and that in the past, when they had joined in 1996, there had been more major events. Also mentioned was that a couple of the main events attract a large number of people, but otherwise it is a relatively small group who regularly visit and work in the wood.

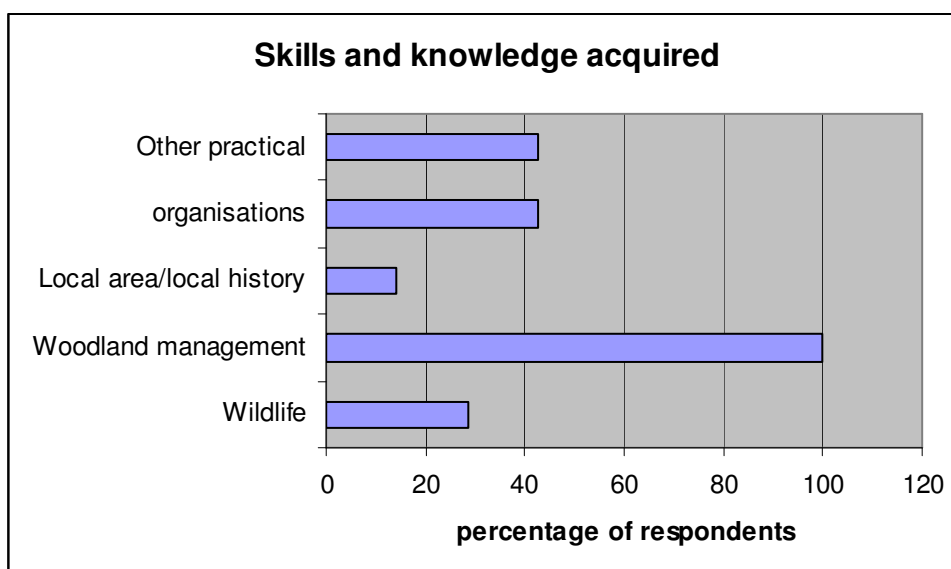
3.1.5 Levels of trust

Respondents were asked whether they felt that their levels of trust had changed, either in the number of people they trust or the extent to which they trusted organisations, since they had become involved in Wooplaw.

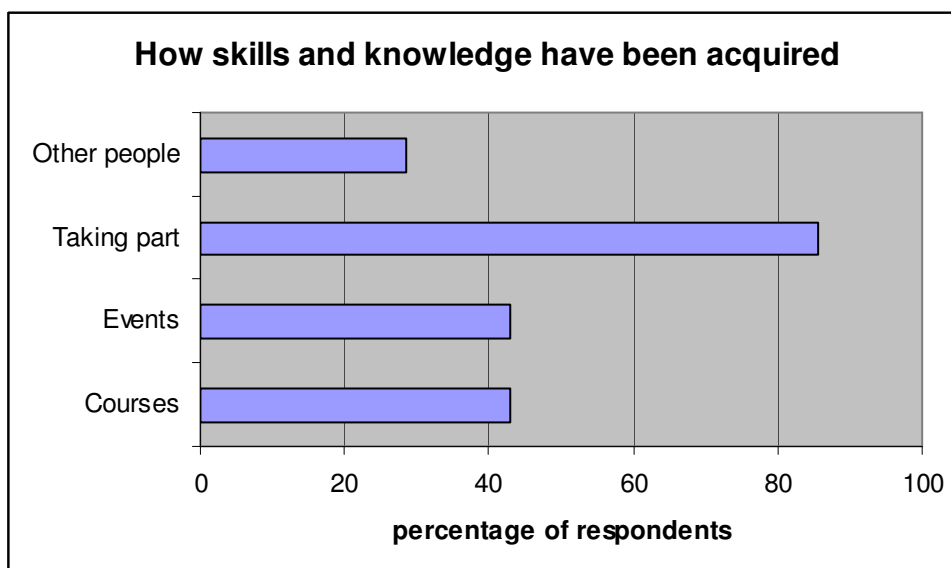
Four respondents (67%) reported to trust more people as a result of their involvement in Wooplaw community wood. One respondent (17%) had experienced increased trust in organisations. Comments indicated that trust in people was developed through relying on the core group in joint management of the woodland '*trust in core group, you rely on them*'; '*Have to work together to achieve things*'. The respondent who reported an increase in trust in organisations had had contact with many organisations as a result of the community wood. '*Some organisations have gained (my) trust, other have lost it most experiences have been positive.*' The respondent was generally impressed by the attitude of organisations towards the community wood '*especially the FC they have changed ..*'.

3.2 Skills and knowledge

Respondents were asked if they had acquired any new knowledge or skills as a result of being involved in or visiting the wood. They were also asked what they had used the acquired knowledge and skills for.



All the respondents said that they had acquired knowledge as a result of the community wood. They had all acquired knowledge and skills relating to woodland management, just over 40% had learnt about organisations and the same proportion had learnt practical skills. About 29% had learnt about wildlife and 14% about the local area.



Knowledge and skills had generally been acquired through taking part, but also through events and courses and other people. In general the knowledge and skills had been applied to managing the wood, but also one respondent had used publication design skills acquired for work relating to an after school club and one respondent had used wood turning and green wood working skills acquired from courses in his own work. One respondent emphasised that it is often the people involved who bring the skills and knowledge to Wooplaw - *‘people bring skills to Wooplaw It is the melding of these very varied skills that is part of the fun and which makes the community thing tick and which produces the learn experience’*

3.3 Identity and sense of belonging

3.3.1 Woodland products and pictures.

Respondents were asked whether they had any products from the wood or pictures of the wood at home as an indication of the connection they felt to the wood. Products were subsequently divided into three categories – ornamental, items of interest and useful objects (or materials to make useful objects).

Six respondents (100% of respondents answering this question) had products from the wood at home. They all had useful items – birch sap wine, baskets, stools, material for art work, chairs, tables, bowls, willow cuttings. Two respondents had original axeheads ('ornaments') which were made by the late Tim Stead and sold to raise funds for the initial purchase of the wood.

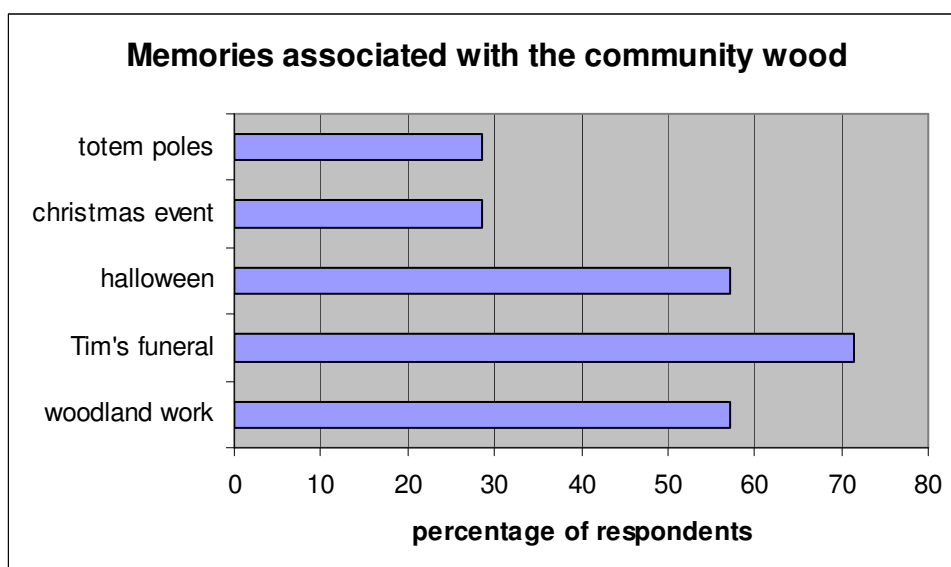
Over half, 57%, of respondents had pictures.

3.3.2 Talking about the Community wood

As an indication of how prominent the community wood was in peoples lives, respondents were asked if they talked about it at home. Fifty seven percent of respondents reported that the community wood was talked about often in their household and 43% that it was spoken about sometimes.

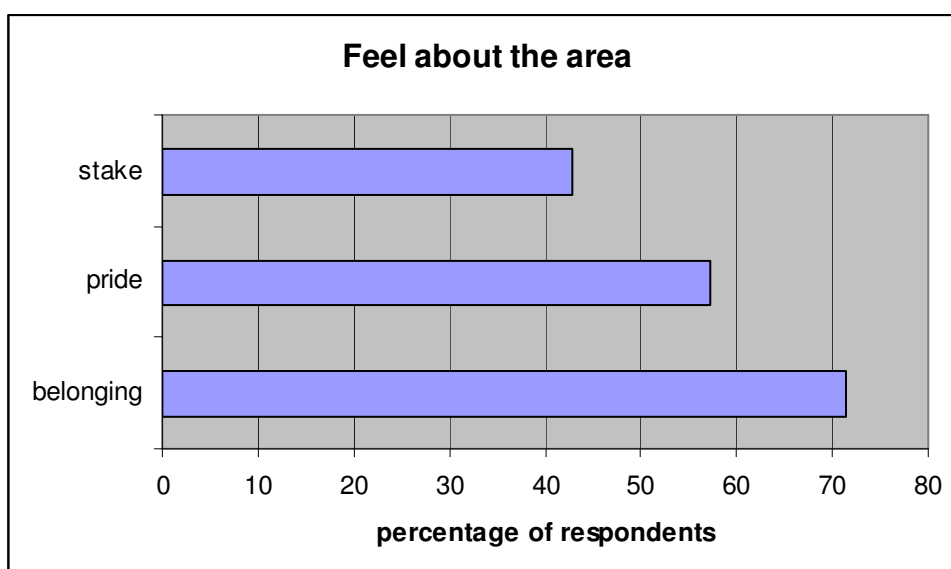
3.3.3 Memories

Respondents were asked if they had any particular memories of times spent in the wood. All those interviewed had memories associated with the community wood. Over 70%, 5, respondents, mentioned Tim Stead's (one of the founders of the wood) funeral which was held in the wood as a very memorable occasion – *'Tim Stead's funeral – moving and uplifting'*, *'Tim's funeral – 200 – 300 people there'*. Halloween and specific work days – *'our first visit – planting trees – a seminal experience'*, *'hedge planting – cold, wet, snowy'*, *'draining path and setting stones – it was successful'*, were both mentioned by 57% of respondents. The Christmas event which is held in the log cabin – *'Christmas event – log cabin full of candles'*, and events around the totem poles – *'totem pole carving with native American'*, were both mentioned by 29% of respondents



3.3.4 Feel about the area

Six respondents (86%) said that the community wood had changed the way that they feel about the area they live in.



Respondents were invited to expand their answer and responses were categorised as shown in the chart above. Over 70% said it had affected their sense of belonging and 57% said they felt pride and 43% that they had a stake in the area – *'nice to know place one can come to. The rest of the area is privately owned.'*

3.4 Culture

To gauge whether the community woodland was having any impact on culture, respondents were asked if their values or regular practices had changed since they had been involved in Wooplaw.

	Changed values and attitudes			Changed habits or regular activities		
	N	%	Valid %	n	%	Valid %
Yes	5	71	71	3	43	43
No	2	29	29	4	57	57
Not answered	0			0		
total	37	100	100	37	100	100

Five, 71%, of respondents said that the community woodland had affected their values and attitudes. Three, 43%, said that it had affected their regular practices or habits.

Three respondents mentioned that their attitudes towards the use and source of woodland products had been formed, in part, due to their involvement in Wooplaw. One respondent mentioned that it had made her expand her interpretation of woods beyond a valuable wildlife habitat to include a medium for experiencing art. Another respondent mentioned that he now valued the *'importance of places like this – quiet spaces are precious'*. One respondent said that it had changed their values and attitudes towards *'community'*.

In terms of regular practices, three respondents mentioned coming to regular work days and visiting the wood. One respondent mentioned preparing for and coming to the monthly craft days and, additionally, how her own work (as an artist) was affected by the wood. Another respondent said that his *'hobbies started from here'*.

Case Study: Osprey Volunteers: an initiative of the 'Friends of Tweed Valley Forest Park'.

1.0 Background

1.1 The development of the Tweed Valley Osprey Project

The Tweed Valley Osprey Project is a partnership project between Forestry Commission Scotland, RSPB Scotland and Kailzie Gardens. It is supported by Scottish Natural Heritage, Lothian and Borders Police, Scottish Borders Tourist Board, Tweed Forum and 'Making Tracks' (which is funded by Visit Scotland and the EU Leader+ programme for the Scottish Borders).

The catalyst for the project was the return of Ospreys to the Borders and a successful breeding season. The Forestry Commission rangers thought it would be good to have a wildlife viewing project. The FC approached Kailzie Gardens as a potential partner partly because of the requirement of the main funder, Making Tracks⁴, for an Agricultural Holding number, as well as it being a suitable venue for an Osprey Centre. The Tweed Forum was also instrumental in helping getting funding for the project, writing the bid and helping with administration and reporting during the first year.

There are two Osprey viewing centres both close to Peebles. The Glentress Forest Centre is two miles east of Peebles and the Kailzie Gardens Centre is 2 miles south of Peebles. Cameras are trained on an osprey nest and live pictures with sound are beamed into the Osprey Centres. The actual locations of the nests are kept secret. Over the last three years the Centres have been improved significantly – better technical equipment and pictures, other wildlife clips from the Borders being shown and improved interior of the Centres

In 2004, the RSPB joined the project as a third partner and funded the post of a seasonal⁵ Information Officer.

1.2 Osprey Project Volunteers

At the outset of the project, volunteers were recruited through adverts and flyers in the Centres. Word of mouth and promotion encouraged a few more to join and in the first year, 2003, there were 15 volunteers. It became apparent very quickly that the presence of volunteers hugely increased the enjoyment of the visitors. Numbers of volunteers increased significantly, to about 40, in the second year when the RSPB joined the partnership. Local RSPB members were keen to support the project and the RSPB Information Officer had time to promote the project and encourage people to join. The volunteers staff the Osprey Centres. They help visitors get the most out of their visits. As well as providing information about the Ospreys, they provide a link to local people and the area by providing 'a local flavour'. They can also offer practical information about the area regarding accommodation and other places to

⁴ Making Tracks was a post foot and mouth fund for the Scottish borders and applicants had to be agricultural holdings

⁵ Since 2006 there has been a two year full time Community Wildlife Officer post to promote wildlife based tourism in the Borders.

visit. Outwith the breeding season (May – August), the volunteers are involved in other activities to support the project, such as revamping the Centres and building the hides, and other activities with a social or interest focus, such as visits to other wildlife attractions.

1.3 Objectives and activities

Objectives of the Tweed valley osprey project volunteer guides:

- To provide local guides who can help visitors to the Osprey Watch Centres get the most from their visit;
- To promote the area to visitors and increase the quality and length of stays in the Borders;
- To increase awareness of Ospreys and wildlife amongst the volunteers;
- Through involvement, to instil a sense of ownership amongst the volunteers and the need to protect Ospreys and other wildlife;
- To improve relationships between FC and the public.

Main activities have been:

- Training for volunteers (volunteers receive training in ospreys, using the equipment, common bird ID, other wildlife features – red squirrels, badgers and salmon);
- Staffing the Osprey Watch Centres from May – August;
- Work days such as upgrading the centres and building hides;
- Wildlife related events such as a trip to Loch of Lowes Osprey Centre, a trip to Philiphaugh Salmon centre and a talk by wildlife crime officer;
- Social events such as an evening with buffet and film.

1.4 Relationships with other organisations

The Osprey project has close relationships with the FC, RSPB and Kailzie Gardens. These are the project partners. The FC provide the forests and nesting platforms where the birds nest. They also provide considerable expertise and technical support from the Wildlife Rangers and the ‘Radio Branch’ (who provide the technical equipment and support). The FC also employ a Community and Environmental Ranger who coordinates the project. As an example of wildlife tourism, the project provides the FC with relatively new form of ‘output’ from the forest and improves the perception of the FC with the public. Kailzie Gardens, an extensive garden open to the public, is one of the other partners. Kailzie Gardens provided the project with an Agriculture Holding number which enabled it to access funding and provides a location for the second viewing centre. The project provides Kailzie Gardens with extra visitors who often go on to visit the gardens and/or café. The RSPB is the third project partner. The RSPB provides the project with bird related expertise and a part time Information Officer who works on the day to day running of the Centres during the season and volunteer support and training. The project raises RSPB’s profile in the Borders and increases RSPB membership.

SNH support the project financially and with advice. The project is supported by Making Tracks, funded by LEADER Plus and Visit Scotland. The Ospreys 50th

Partnership is a network of six sites across Scotland who are celebrating 50 years of Osprey's returning to Scotland. There is networking between the sites, updating each other on developments which are displayed in all the Centres. Lothian and Borders Police have provided some funding and, through the Wildlife Crime Officers, have provided nest protection and are involved in awareness raising. The Philiphaugh Salmon Viewing Project is another wildlife viewing project in the Borders. A link has been established to show the relationship between the Ospreys and Salmon and to promote each others' project. The Tourist Board are interested in the project as an example of wildlife tourism and have carried out visitor surveys. TAVO, the Tweeddale Association of Voluntary Organisations, provide a minibus when needed and raise awareness of volunteering opportunities. TAVO and FCS are also working to improve public transport links, making the project more inclusive and accessible to a wider variety of user groups.

1.5 Accessing resources

a) Financial:

Funding is accessed through the core budget of FC Scotland and external funding.

- FCS money is bid for internally and success largely depending on the extent to which the project fits FCS objectives and the cost / benefit ratio.
- External funding for the first stage mainly came from Making Tracks.

b) Physical:

The cameras and other technical equipment is all provided by the FCS Radio Branch Team. The two Centres are provided by FCS (Glentress) and Kailzie Gardens (at Kailzie Gardens). Other materials needed for construction are provided by FCS. Other equipment and office space is provided jointly by the project partners.

c) Human:

Technical staff who deal with the equipment and the wildlife rangers who deal with the conservation of the birds are all employed by FCS. The volunteers staff the Centres. Other project staff are funded jointly by the project partners. The RSPB volunteer unit is used by the project for assistance in issues surrounding volunteering.

d) Constraints

Time of dedicated staff is a major constraint on developing the project further. Other constraints are criteria of external funders. The project partners also have their own requirements: the RSPB have membership targets to meet from the project; for FCS, the project needs to demonstrate that it is compatible with FCS objectives and can develop a revenue stream and for Kailzie Gardens, the project needs to attract paying visitors to the gardens and retail outlets.

1.6 Affect of project on organisations and capacity

The Osprey project has been one of the most successful ways in which FCS in the Borders has engaged with volunteers and other opportunities have evolved from it. FCS has learnt a lot from the RSPB about using volunteers. The experience has enabled FCS to *'develop volunteering in relation to interest and demand and consultation, rather than in a vacuum'*. As a result of the project, FCS has also made

useful connections with SWT groups, local rotaries, naturalists and a film maker. The FCS Community and Environment Ranger has given talks to several groups and a film has been made about Glentress.

1.7 Interviewees

Volunteers 32

Nine volunteers were interviewed. These were volunteers who responded to a notice in the Centres asking for interviewees on two particular days. A questionnaire was sent to all other volunteers. The response rate was 77%.

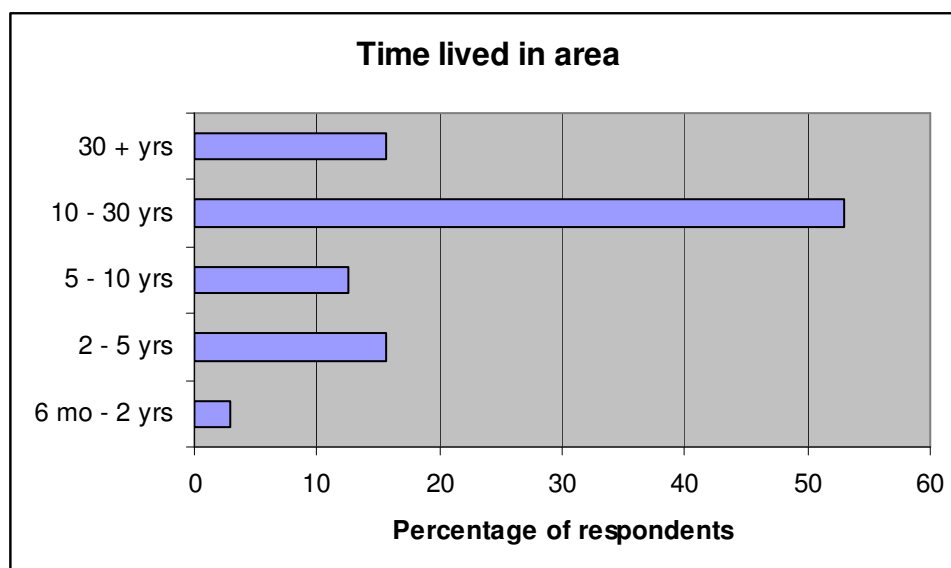
Male 53%
Female 47%

The proportion of males and females was roughly balanced.

Age
36 – 50 3%
51 – 65 41%
66 + 56%

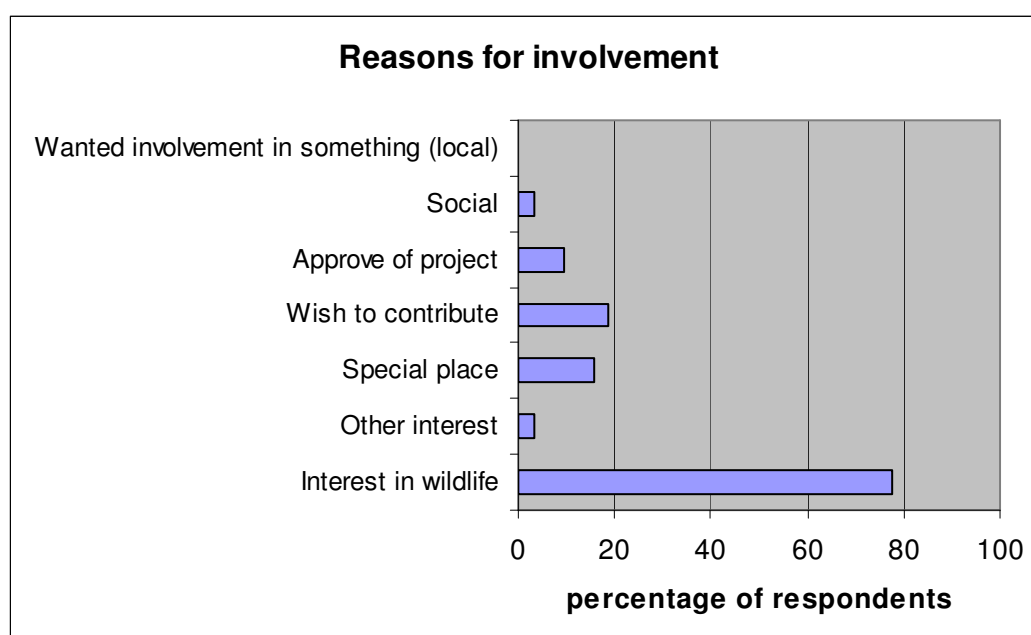
The above shows the distribution of ages of respondents with nearly all respondents falling into the 51 – 65 yrs and 66+ yrs age groups.

The average length of time respondents had lived in the area was 20.3 years. The below graph shows the distribution of length of time lived in town. It shows that most of the respondents had lived in the area for between 10 and 30 yrs.



Respondents were asked why they had become involved in the project. This was an open ended question and respondents gave up to 3 reasons. There were a range of responses which were categorised as in the table below.

Reason for involvement	n	%
Interest in wildlife	24	77
Other interest	1	3
Special place	5	16
Wish to contribute	6	19
Approve of project	3	10
Social	1	3
Wanted involvement in something (local)	4	13
	n = 31	



The graph shows that over 75% of respondents became involved because they were interested in birds or wildlife in general – *‘interested in local wildlife’*, *‘long standing interest in ospreys’*. Other reasons were an attachment to the places, Glentress or Kailzie Gardens – *‘committed to Kailzie (gardens) as I come here a lot’*, *‘having walked dogs here for 20 years ...’*; wanting to contribute – *‘wanted to help out when I heard that there were ospreys locally’*, *‘it was an opportunity to give something back’*; wanting to get involved in something – *‘retired with time’*, *‘took early retirement and was looking for an outdoor or bird related activity’*; and approve of project – *‘approve of project’*, *‘want to increase tourism – it’s important to the Borders economy’*, *‘want to encourage such projects in the Borders’*.

2.0 Staffing the Centres and using of the woods

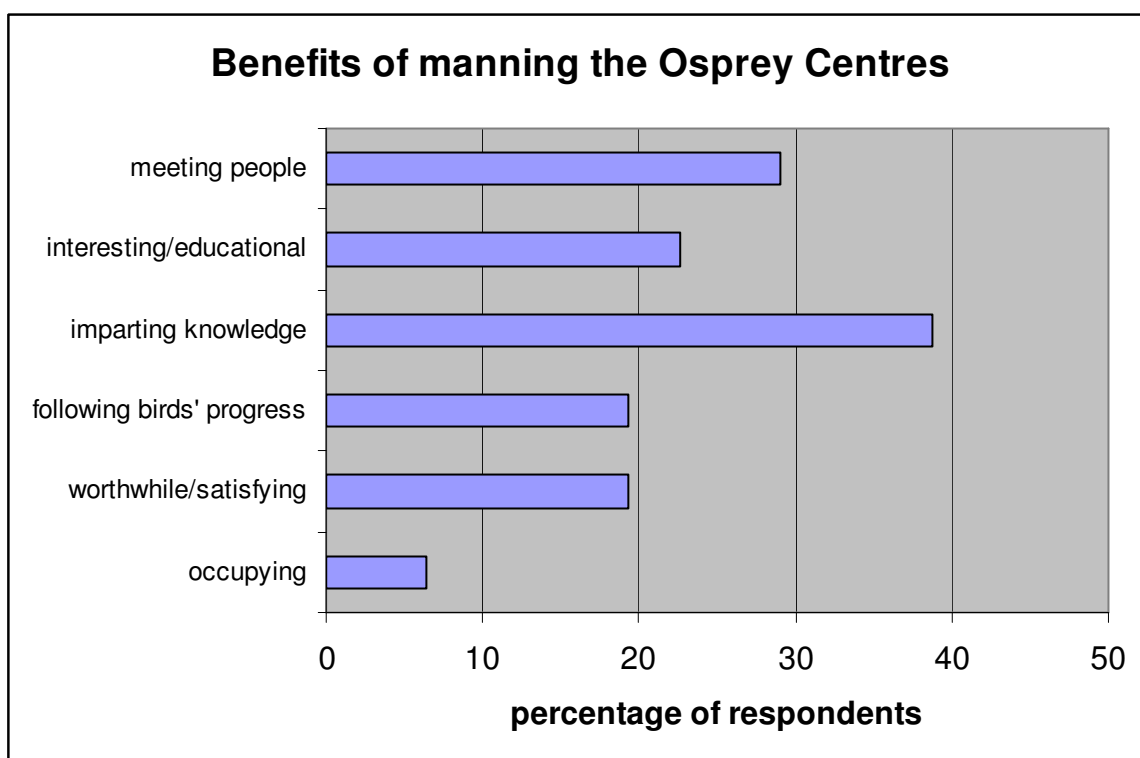
2.1 Visiting the Centres and woods

Half the respondents said that they came to Glentress or Kailzie Gardens to go for a walk as well as to staff the centres. The project hopes to attract people to the forest who might not otherwise visit - *'it also appeals to people who've never been to the forest before, so it is a gentle introduction to a forest setting'*. Local school groups have been taken to the Centres and into the woods. Only about 1/3 of the children had been to the wood before.

Both centres have disabled access and toilet facilities. Groups of disabled people have visited the Centres as have individuals. Social inclusion is enhanced by the volunteers who have links to schools and other groups as well as friends and neighbours. Eighty one percent of respondents said that they had taken or introduced other people to the Osprey Centres. Of these, 62% had taken family, 92% had taken friends, neighbours or visitors, 8% had taken groups (school and bird groups) and one respondent, 4%, had introduced readers of a local newspaper to the project through his weekly column.

2.2 Benefits of staffing the centres

All the respondents except for one had been involved in staffing the Osprey Centres at either or both the sites, Glentress and Kailzie Gardens. Respondents were asked in what ways they benefited from taking part in the project.



The most cited benefit was the satisfaction of imparting knowledge and raising awareness about ospreys – *'mostly it is the pleasure of helping to expand interest and knowledge'*. Twenty eight percent of respondents mentioned meeting varied and interesting visitors and other people involved in the project – *'I enjoy working with*

the RSPB and FC staff, they are very knowledgeable, *'I meet many people from home and abroad'*. The fact that it is interesting and educational was mentioned by 23% of respondents – *'I have learned a great deal about osprey behaviour'*. Mentioned by 19% was that it affords an opportunity to follow the birds' progress and, also by 19% that it is a worthwhile initiative – *'a feeling of doing a very worthwhile job'*. Lastly, two volunteers, 7%, felt they benefited by virtue of it being occupying – *'it has filled a gap, I was looking to develop new interests'*.

2.3 Work days and events

Several events and work days are organised for the osprey volunteers. They are organised by the FCS Community and Environment Ranger and advertised by contacting the volunteers by phone.

a) Work days

There are a few work days involving practical tasks such as painting hides or making bird boxes.

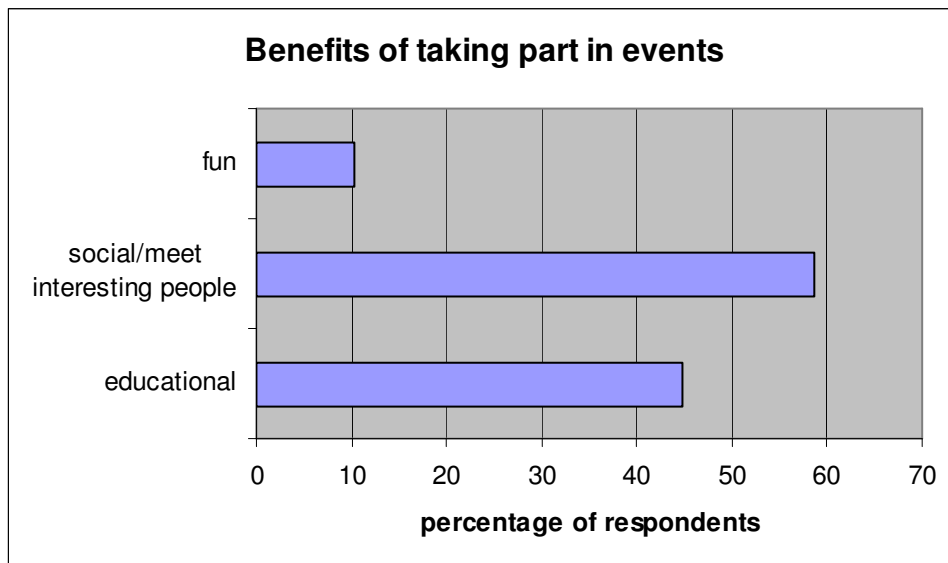
date	Work day	Numbers taking part
July 04	Staffing Osprey stand at Border Union Show	4
Jan 05	Bird box making	6
March 05	Operation Osprey – making and camouflaging hide	9
May 05	Osprey Watch Centre revamp	11
Oct 05	Consultation on new Wildlife Centre plans for Glentress	10 (estimate)

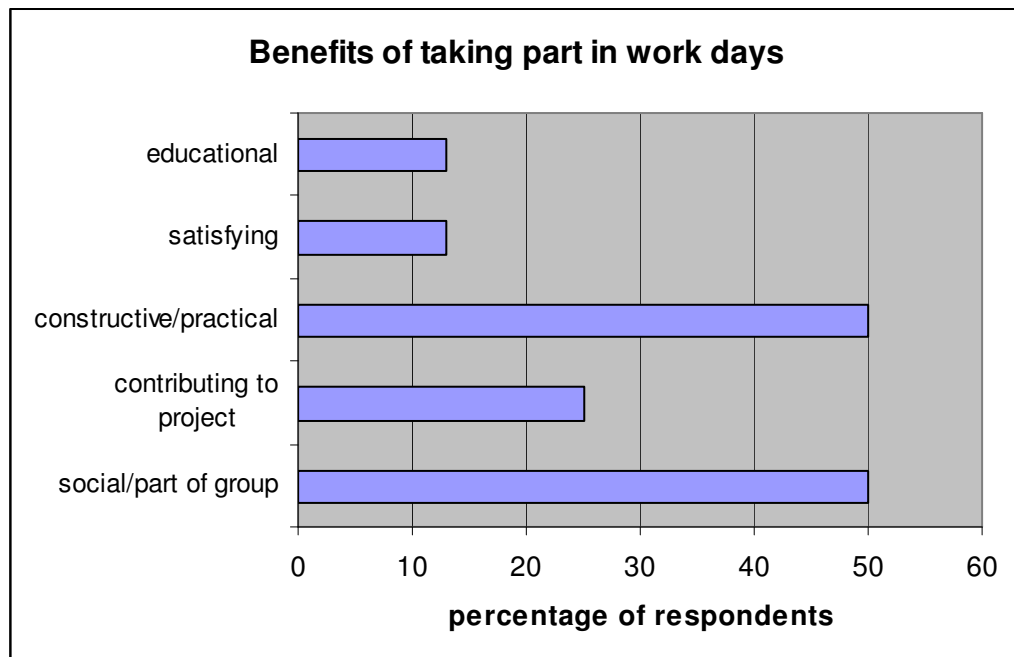
b) Events

Events vary. They are mostly wildlife related but also include an end of season evening gathering to watch a film.

date	event	Number attending
July 2004	Ringling chicks – watching it live at the Centres	All invited; estimated 15 attended
July 04	Visit to Loch of the Lowes Reserve ospreys	10
August 04	Fish and Chicks – early morning trip to look for birds fishing	16
October 2004	Sea Eagle Odyssey film evening	All invited (free tickets); estimated 35 attended
July 05	Ringling chicks – watching it live at the Centres	All invited; estimated 20 attended
July 05	Fish and Chicks – early morning trip to look for birds fishing	15 (estimate)
Aug 05	Visit to Galloway Red Kite Trail and guided tour	9
Nov 2005	Winged Migration film evening	All invited (free tickets); estimated 40 attended

Respondents were asked if they took part in work days and events and how they felt they benefited. Fourteen respondents (45%) usually went to events or work days and 15 (48%) sometimes went. Only 2 respondents (6%) had not been to any events or work days. The chart below describes the ways in which people felt they benefited from taking part. The social element was the most cited benefit – *‘meeting like-minded people’, ‘feel more part of a team, nice to meet other volunteers, enhances team cohesion’*. Educational benefit was mentioned by about 45% of respondents – *‘learn more about wildlife in Borders’, ‘learn a lot’*. Respondents also found them rewarding and fun.

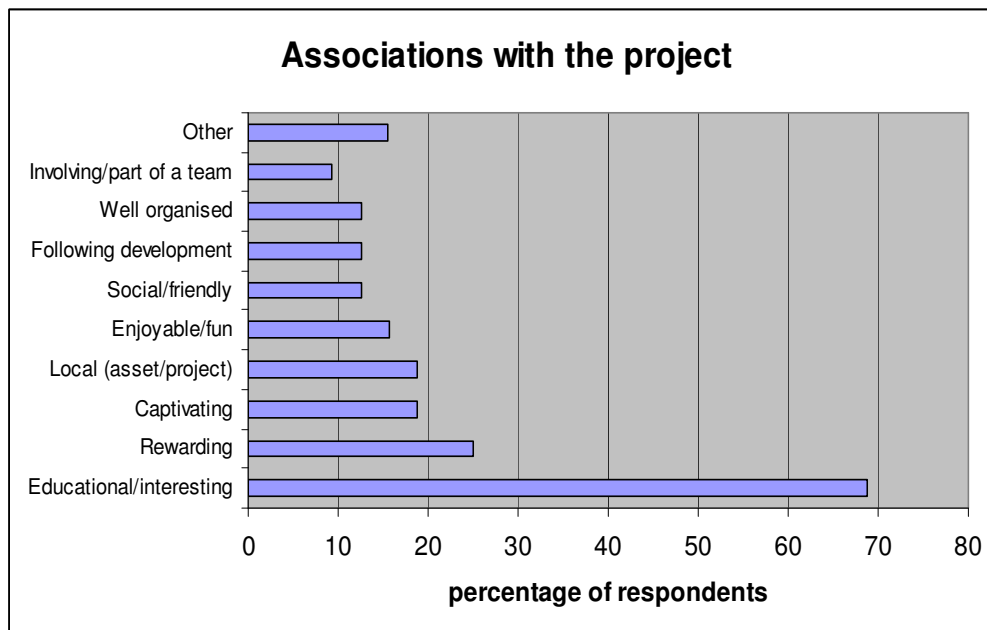




2.4 Associations with the project

Respondents were asked for three words or phrases they associated with the Osprey project. This was an open ended question. Responses were grouped into the below categories.

Word or phrase	n
Educational/interesting	22
Rewarding	8
Exciting	6
Local (asset/project)	6
Enjoyable/fun	5
Social/friendly	4
Following development	4
Well organised	4
Involving/part of a team	3
Wildlife	2
Enthusiasm/commitment	2
Pride	1



Nearly 70% of respondents associated the osprey project with being interesting and educational – *‘making people aware of birds’, ‘informative’, ‘nice to share information with people about birds’, ‘interesting’, ‘educational’, ‘enlightenment’*. The fact that it was rewarding was mentioned by 25% of respondents – *‘worthwhile’, ‘useful’, ‘rewarding’*. Captivating and that it was a local asset were each mentioned by 18% of respondents – *‘good for local economy’, ‘important asset in area’*. That it is enjoyable was mentioned by about 15% of respondents as was well organised and following development – *‘improving/developing all the time’, ‘following chicks development’*. That it is involving and they feel part of a team was mentioned by 9% of respondents – *‘being part of the reestablishment’, ‘involvement in the project’*.

3.0 Social benefits

3.1 Social Capital building

3.1.1 Making friends

Twenty six, 81%, said that they had made friends or acquaintances through taking part in the Osprey project. Of those, 6 had made close friends, 11 had made friends and 25 said that they had made acquaintances.

3.1.2 Making and using contacts

Eighteen (56%) of respondents had made useful contacts and 10 of those (56%) had used them. Contacts were largely in the wildlife field and were used to pursue interests. One respondent had made contacts which led on to him making a film about the history of Glentress. Another respondent has become involved in further wildlife reestablishment projects as a result of a contact made.

3.1.3 Leading onto other initiatives

Respondents were asked if they had become involved in any organisations, projects or initiatives as a result of the Osprey project, or if, on the other hand, they had

become less inclined to be involved in other things. Six respondents (19%) said that, as a result of the Osprey project, they had become involved in other initiatives. Most of these had joined further wildlife related groups which they had come across or heard about as a result of being involved in the Osprey project. One respondent said that they would be less inclined to be involved in other things due to the time they already commit to the Osprey project.

3.1.4 Bringing people together

Six respondents (20%) thought that the project was very good at bringing people from the area together. Forty three per cent felt that it was moderately good and 33% that it was not particularly good. Six people mentioned the events as being good for getting people together. Three people mentioned that it brings like minded people together with a common interest. Eight respondents mentioned that the project does attract many people from the area, but not 'together' - '*(we) don't meet as a group very often, it is not the purpose*', '*Brings people here repeatedly, with pride, but not necessarily together. ... Shared pride*'. Another felt that they were brought together by '*feel(ing) part of something growing and developing*'.

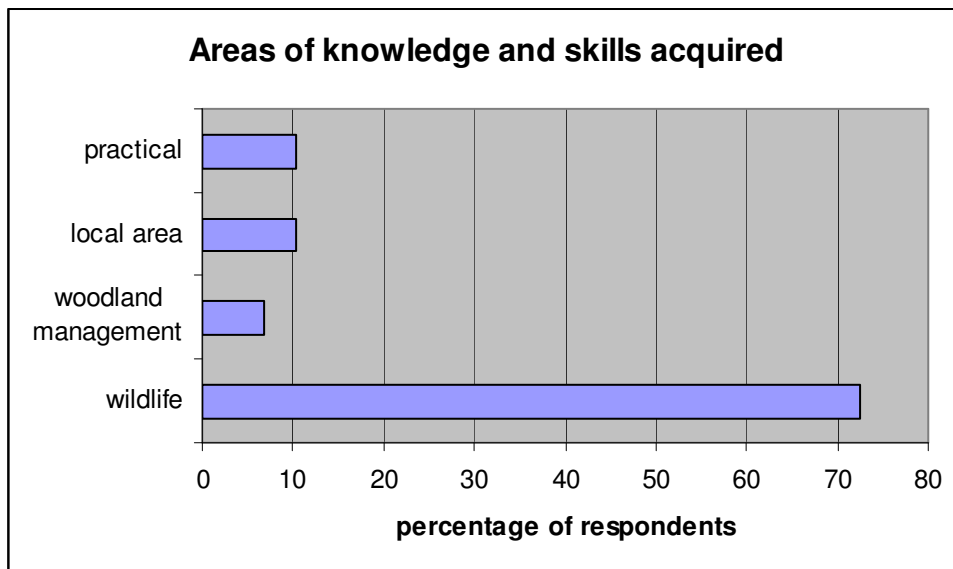
3.1.5 Levels of trust

Respondents were asked whether they felt that their levels of trust had changed, either in the number of people they trusted or the extent to which they trusted organisations, since they had become involved in the Osprey project.

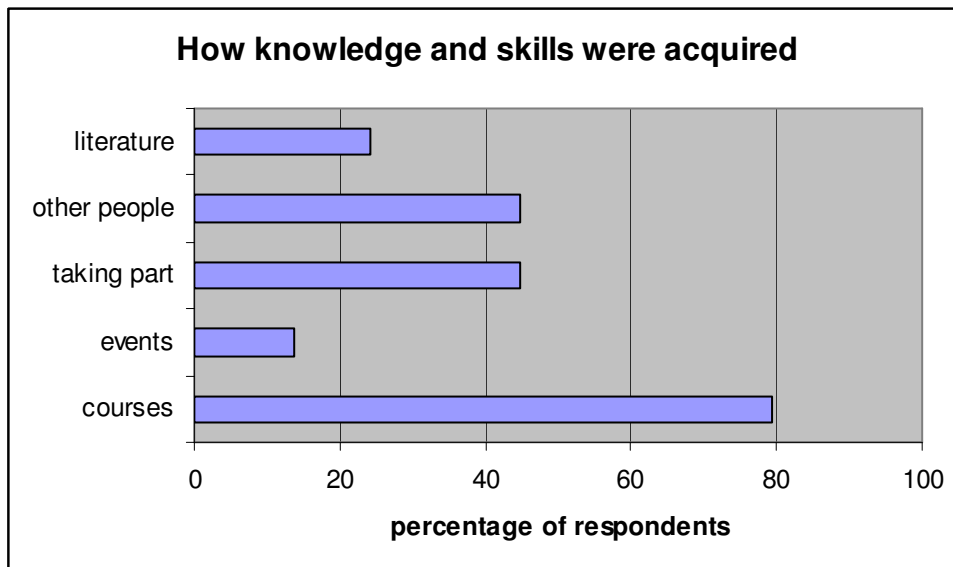
Twenty percent of respondents felt that the number of people in whom they had trust had increased and 20% felt that their trust in organisations had increased. One respondent commented that '*You work as a team and rely on people*'. On the other hand, two respondents who had experienced no change in levels of trust commented that '*not enough contact time is made*' and '*this is not really a team thing*'. One respondent commented that the commitment of the team had resulted in increased trust on her behalf '*through meeting people who show a deep commitment to wildlife and also the commitment of the FC staff to supporting their volunteers.*' Comments indicate that trust in organisations had increased largely due to respondents being impressed by the dedication of the FC to this project - '*impressed that FC are putting money in and they value it as an activity or woodland use (it has) improved my perception of what they are doing.*' '*FC very different to the past – very helpful and open to the public.*'

3.2 Skills and knowledge

Respondents were asked if they had acquired any new knowledge or skills as a result of being involved in the Osprey project. They were also asked what they had used the acquired knowledge and skills for.



Twenty nine respondents, 91%, said that they had acquired knowledge and/or skills as a result of their involvement in the Osprey project. Most respondents had learnt something about birds and other wildlife. In addition, a few had acquired knowledge about the local area and practical skills such as making bird boxes.



Knowledge had largely been acquired through the specific training courses organised prior to each season. Also taking part and observing and other people were important sources of information. Seven respondents used available literature to learn more and four respondents cited the organised events as forums for learning. Information had generally been used to inform visitors and for personal interest and observation. Two respondents had used information to give talks to local groups, one had used it for a weekly newspaper column.

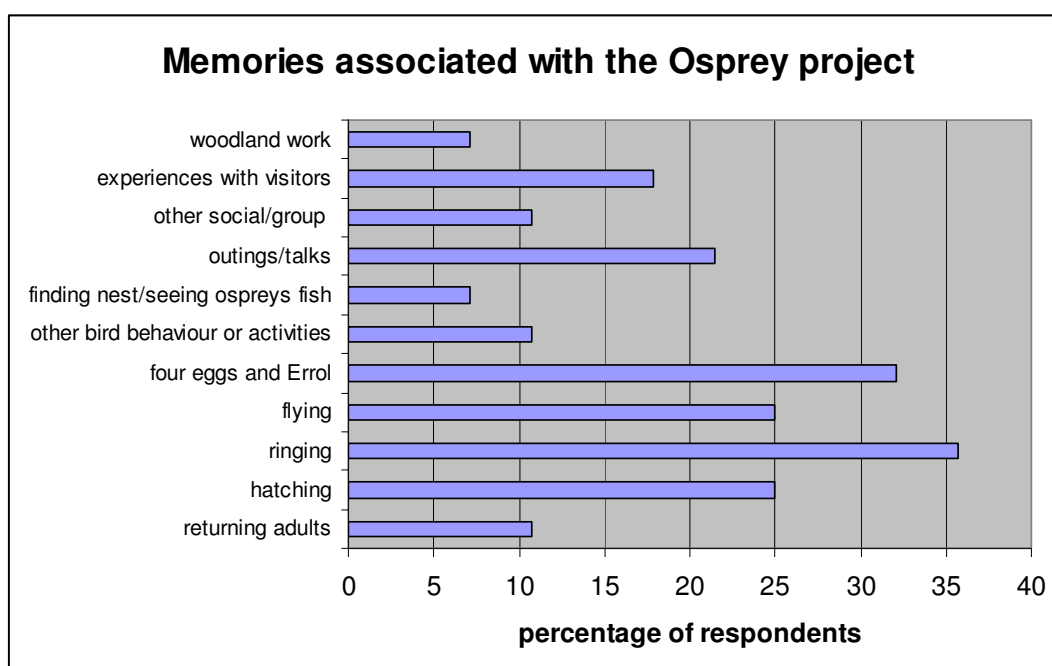
3.3 Identity and sense of belonging

3.3.1 Talking about the Community wood

As an indication of how prominent the community wood was in peoples lives, respondents were asked if they talked about it at home. Over 70% of respondents reported that they talked often about the osprey project in their households and the remainder spoke of it sometimes.

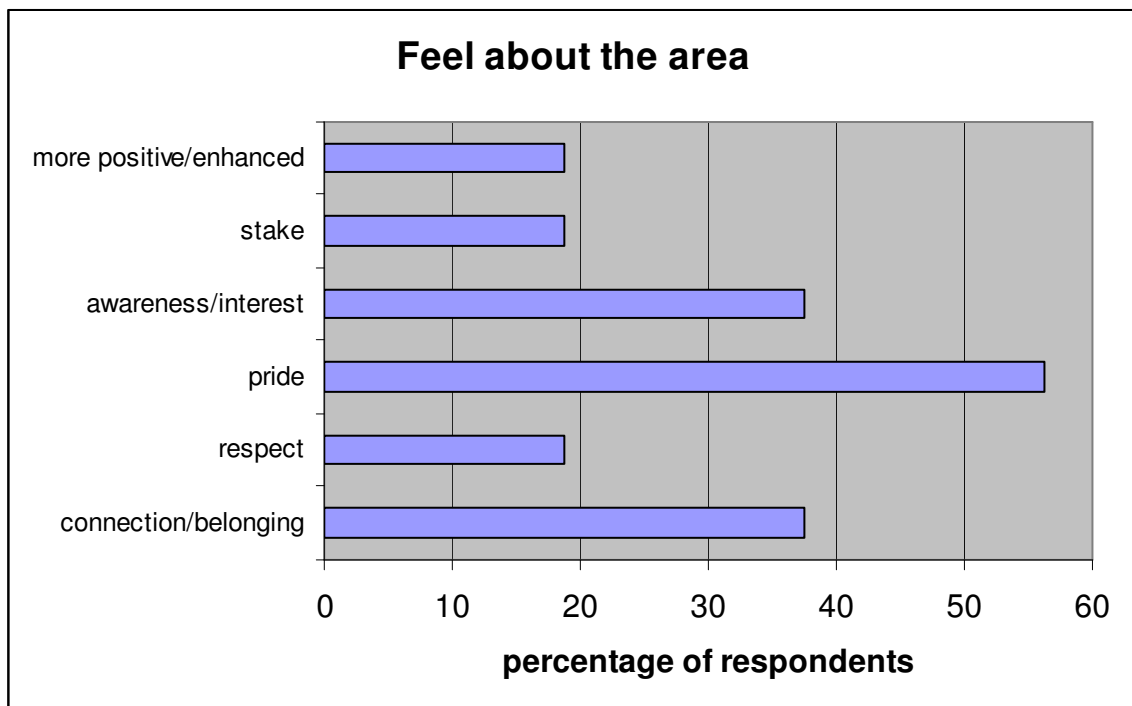
3.3.2 Memories

Respondents were asked if they had any particular memories of times spent on the project. Nearly all respondents (93%) said that they had particular memories associated with the project. Most of the memories were associated with the actual birds – pairs returning, eggs hatching, surviving of Errol (the fourth chick), ringing and the chicks flying - *‘return of Ospreys and breeding – excitement of knowing that pairs have returned’*, *‘the miracle of the hatchings’*, *‘excitement of chicks hatching and first flight’*, *‘fourth egg hatched – felt concern and hope that chick would survive’*, *‘4 chicks in one nest this year – very rare. So exciting, almost unheard of’*, *‘hatching of all eggs – fantastic’*, *‘ringing – I couldn’t attend that morning, but was thrilled by the video footage’*. A number of respondents also mentioned particular organised outings as being memorable and other gatherings – *‘outing to Loch of Lowes Ospreys’*, *‘watch for birds at St Mary’s loch early in the morning’*, *‘the social/film event at the Eastgate theatre’*, *‘press launch – great fun’*. Also mentioned were particular experiences with visitors, work parties to develop nest sites and finding nests and seeing Ospreys fishing – *‘tree planting/hut camouflage in bad weather’*, *‘development of nest sites to encourage breeding’*, *‘finding fishing birds in local area’*.



3.3.3 Feel about the area

Sixteen respondents (52%) said that the Osprey Project had changed the way that they felt about the area they live in.



Respondents were invited to expand their answer and responses were categorised as shown in the chart above. Nearly 60% said they had more pride in the area – *‘collective pride in all the developments’, ‘feel proud when I bring people to such a lovely project’*. Forty four percent of respondents said that the project had increased the connection they felt with their area or their sense of belonging – *‘increased connection’*. The same proportion said that their awareness of and interest in the local area had been enhanced – *‘made me more aware of the area’, ‘a tighter mesh of awareness’, ‘it has stuck me forcibly that this area is home to hundreds of species.’* Nineteen percent of respondents felt that involvement had given them a stake in the project or area – *‘local input helps the volunteers to own the project’, ‘increased stake’*. Nineteen percent felt that the area was enhanced – *‘more idea of a local asset’, ‘generally feel more positive about wildlife possibilities’, ‘a more wonderful place to live’*. The same proportion felt increased respect for their local community – *‘it shows that local people want to help their community’, ‘nice feeling that others are interested and involved’*.

3.4 Culture

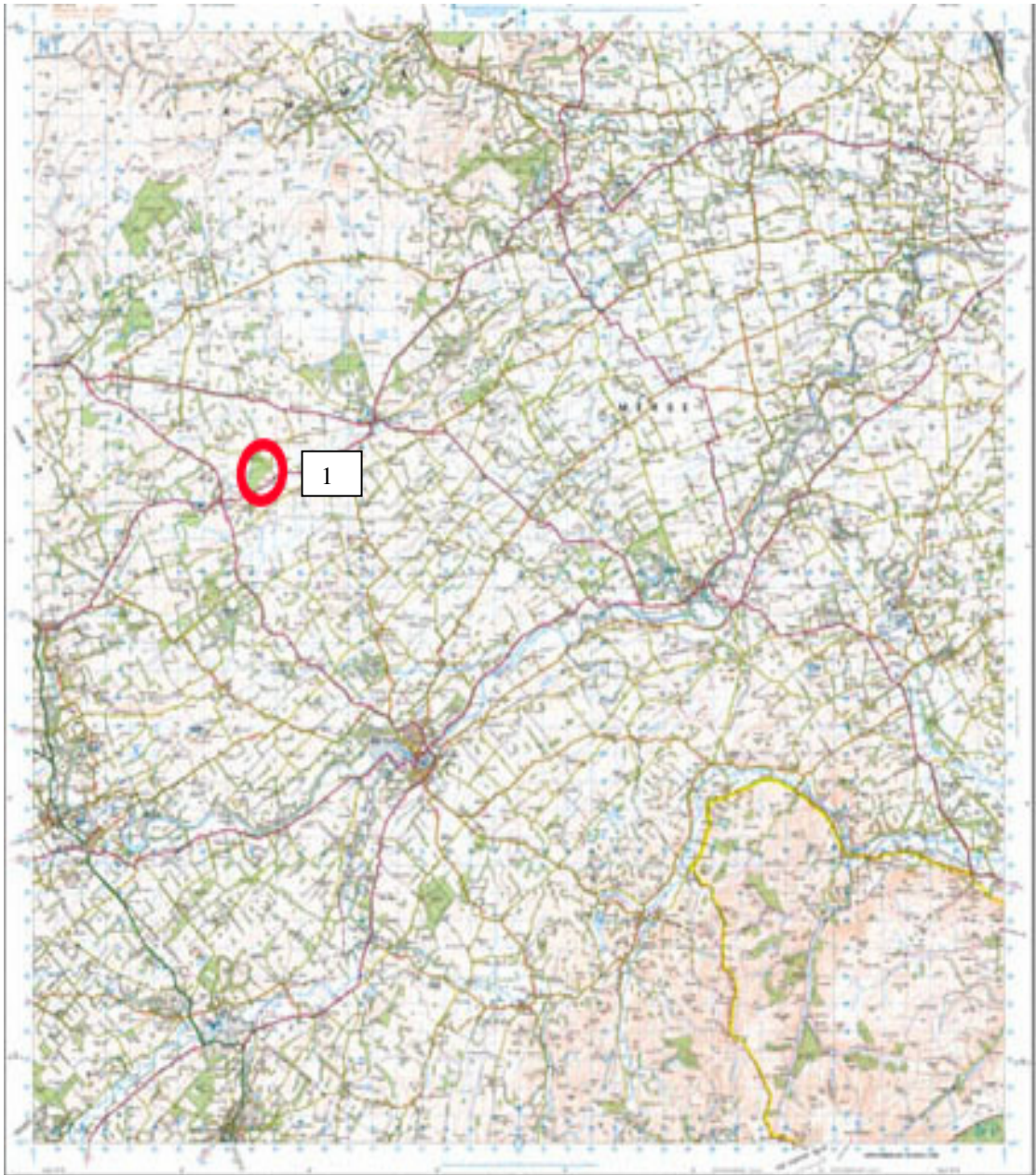
To gauge whether involvement in the project was having any impact on culture, respondents were asked if their values or regular practices had changed since they had been involved in the Osprey project.

	Changed values and attitudes			Changed habits or regular activities		
	n	%	Valid %	n	%	Valid %
Yes	8	25	25	7	22	22
No	24	75	75	25	78	78
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0
total	37	100	100	37	100	100

Eight respondents, 25%, said that their values and attitudes had been affected by their involvement in the Osprey project. Seven of these said that it had strengthened or reinforced environmental values '*we should protect these birds and protect our environment,*' '*the fragility, vulnerability and the way that we are incomers to these forests*'.

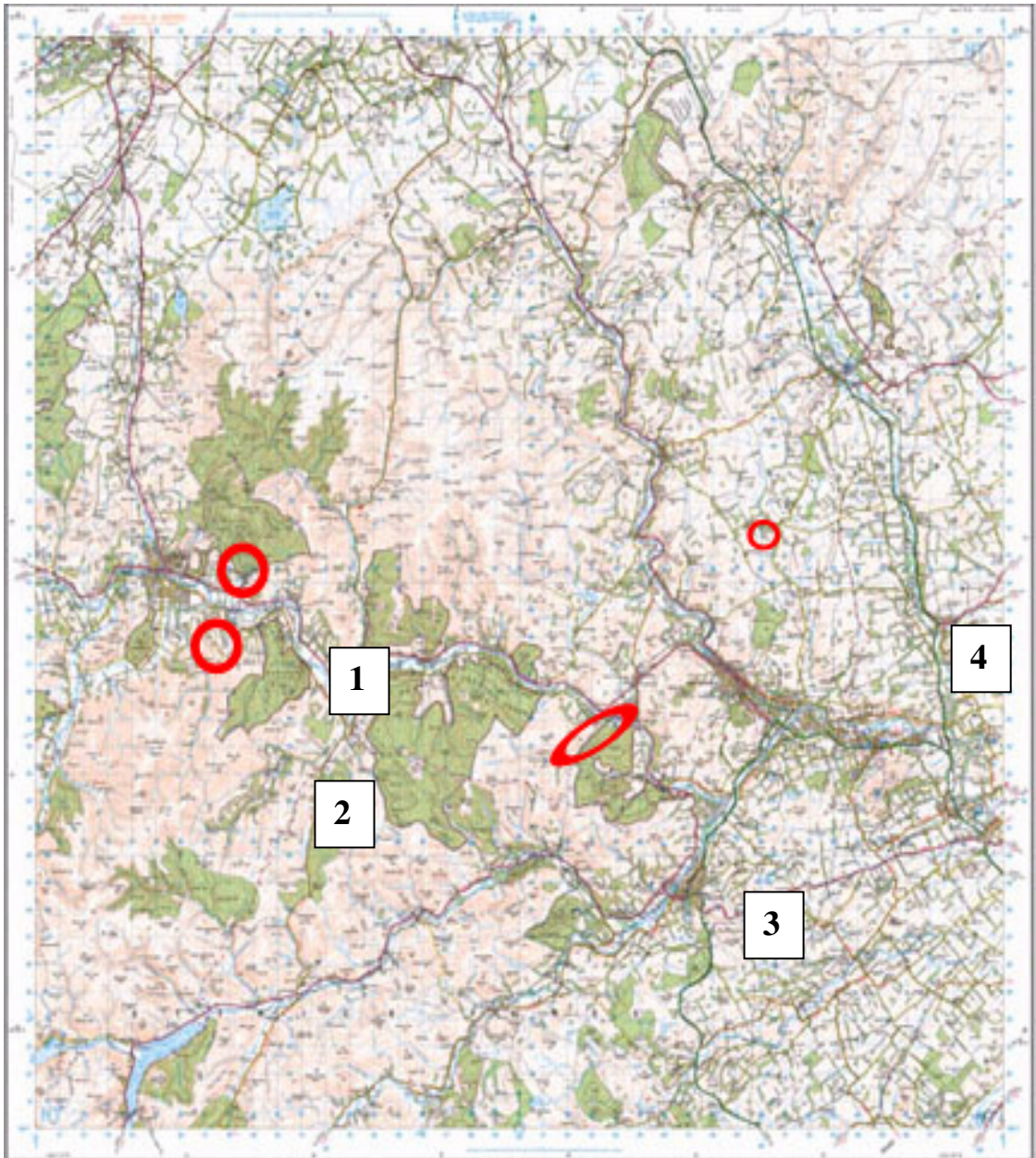
Seven, 22%, said that regular habits had changed (beyond staffing the centres). Most of these, five respondents, said that their awareness of birds and other wildlife had increased and that they now observe more in their surroundings '*try and identify birds when I'm out and about*', '*noting birds when I'm out walking and recording butterflies*'. One respondent mentioned that it had made her more aware of the amenity provided by the forest and encouraged her to walk there and explore other woodlands in the area. One respondent said that she felt much more responsibility towards the environment and '*keeping it clean*' and now picked up litter. Another respondent mentioned that he had introduced a rough patch in his garden for wildlife in which he has hedgehogs.

Annex 3: Maps – locations of case studies



Source: Kelso & Coldstream, Ordnance Survey,74

1. Gordon



Map: Peebles, Galashiels & Selkirk, Ordnance Survey 73,

1. Osprey Project : Glentress
2. Osprey Project: Kailzie Garden
3. Glenkinnon
4. Wooplaw